Marxism Today

Theoretical and Discussion Journal of the Communist Party April 1975 25 pence

Editorial Comments

Samora Machel

Independence Message from Frelimo's President

Frelimo President speaks to the people

Martin Jacques

Trends in Youth Culture: Reply to the Discussion

Discussion

Julian Tudor Hart — *Health Care and the Medical Profession*

Mike Prior — *Inflation and Marxist Theory*

Ron Press — *Man, Environment and the Great Growth Debate*

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Marxism Today

Theoretical and Discussion Journal of the Communist Party

Volume 19, Number 4

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CONTENTS

	Editorial Comments	**97**
Samora Machel	**Independence Message from Frelimo's President**	**102**
Martin Jacques	**Trends in Youth Culture: Reply to the Discussion**	**110**
Discussion Contributions on:		
Julian Tudor Hart	**Health Care and the Medical Profession**	**117**
Mike Prior	**Inflation and Marxist Theory**	**120**
Ron Press	**Man, Environment and the Great Growth Debate**	**126**

The front cover was designed by Pat Cook. The pictures on the cover were provided by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné.

SOME ARTICLES PLANNED FOR MAY-JULY ISSUES

David Aers	**Towards a Marxist Reading of Literature**
V. L. Allen	**Questions of Trade Union Structure**
Jack Ashton	**Problems of Labour Unity in Scotland**
Enrico Berlinguer	**Report to the Italian Communist Party Congress** (extracts)
Joan Bellamy	**Imperialism and the Third World**
E. A. Bitsakis	**Relativism and Relativity**
Alan Bush	**Marxism and Music**
Donald Cameron	**Problems of Heredity**
Bill Carr	**Memories of the General Strike**
Ruth & Edmund Frow	**The First International and the Manchester Working Class**
Judith Hunt	**Problems of the Women's Movement in Britain**
James Klugmann	**Strategy of the Democratic Anti-Monopoly Revolution**
Jack Lindsay	**The Role of the Individual in Art**
Gavin Mackenzie	**Class and Class Consciousness: Marx Re-examined**
Bob Rowthorn	**Inflation and Marxist Theory**
Barry Stacey	**The Marxist View of Human Nature**
John Thompson	**The Dialectics of Nature**
Katherine Thomson	**The Significance of Illuminated Freemasonry**
Colin Yardley	**Crisis in Education**
Ray Volleamere	**Karl Marx: Activity and Alienation**

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Editorial Comments

ONE of the outstanding achievements of the joint struggle of the people of Portugal and of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau is the rapidity with which independence has been peacefully negotiated since the overthrow of the former fascist regime.

While the strength of the democratic revolution in Portugal, the anti-imperialist stand of the Armed Forces Movement, and the presence in the provisional government of the Portuguese Communist Party have been vital factors, equally essential has been the firm yet understanding position of the liberation movements themselves.

As emphasised by Samora Machel, President of Frelimo, in his message of September 20th (extracts of which are published in this issue of our journal), it was "the simultaneous liberation of two peoples through a common victory against fascism and colonialism. *Neither of us liberated the other, it was mutual liberation through a parallel struggle which must take on new scope in the future*". A virtually identical thought has been expressed by Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party.

The Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, which has campaigned so long and effectively, for British support to the liberation movements in the three territories, has done the movement yet another valuable service in publishing a collection of speeches and statements by Samora Machel (*Mozambique—Sowing the Seeds of Revolution*: 40p. From CFMAG, 12-13 Little Newport Street, London WC2 H7JJ, or from progressive bookshops).

This 68 page booklet contains seven documents and speeches covering the years 1970 to 1973. The subjects covered include education, health, production and co-operative agriculture, building the nation, leadership and cadres, and solidarity.

INTERNATIONALISM

The speeches reflect very clearly the impact of the liberation struggle on the political ideology of its leaders. The significance of international solidarity emerges directly out of the actual experience of the liberation war.

Thus, addressing a National Solidarity Conference in Italy in March 1973, Samora Machel declared:

> "Apart from the tangible support that it represents, your solidarity is also a political act which helps us to educate our people.
>
> "Colonialism and imperialism made our people know the brutal face of aggression, exploitation and oppression.
>
> "The land of the renaissance of European culture, of the freedom epic of Garibaldi, of the tenacious struggle against fascism, the land of the great Italian people, was unknown to us. The image we had of you was only that of the FIAT G-91's which sow death; of the Bologna food industries which exploit our peasants and workers in their cashew-nut shelling plants in Mozambique. Only the liberation war, which broke the isolation to which we were subjected, enabled us to come into contact with the Italian people and to discover their true character.
>
> "Your solidarity . . . makes our people understand concretely that there are no enemy races or peoples; that the enemy of our people is that of all peoples; colonialism which has no race, imperialism which has no country."

This same breadth of view leads Samora Machel to appraise highly the significance of the struggle of the Portuguese people, and to note, too, how the fight of the people of Mozambique had a significance beyond the boundaries of Africa.

> "The destruction of the domination of the big imperialist companies in Mozambique and the shrinking of the buffer Zones of the racist empires of Rhodesia and South Africa, concern all forces in the world which see the need to fight against imperialist plunder and the policy of aggression. . . . Also to be seen as a common fight is our struggle to establish a new popular social order in our country, which liberates man from the misery of exploitation.
>
> "In this context, solidarity is not an act of charity, but mutual aid between forces fighting for the same objective. Liquidating the Portuguese colonial fascist system means destroying one of the main bastions of contemporary fascism, which is stimulating the growth of fascist forces in Europe, including Italy."

CREATIVE INITIATIVE OF THE PEOPLE

Another lesson derived from the liberation struggle:

> "We must never think of men as automatons who must receive and carry out orders irrespective of whether they understand them or have assimilated them. Leaders must fight against the harmful tendency of solving political problems through administrative decisions."

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Constantly Samora Machel comes back to the theme of the fight against obscurantism, superstition, ignorance and passivity. Leadership must aim at "releasing the masses' sense of creative initiative". Science and education is not intended "to enrich a minority, oppress man and stifle the creative initiative of the masses, the inexhaustible source of collective progress. . . . He who studies should be like a spark lighting the flame which is the people".

And education, understanding, creative thought he links with production and the role of the worker:

> "Because their very existence depends on exploiting us, capitalism and colonialism keep knowledge away from the masses, creating an educated elite which does not work and is used only to better exploit the masses.
>
> "We say that it is the workers who must have knowledge, who must rule and who must benefit from labour. This is what we say and what we practice. And this is why our Armed Struggle has been transformed into a Revolution. . . . Nothing exists without production, and nothing exists without workers. . . . Our objective is to hand production over to the creative ability of the masses."

LIBERATION OF WOMEN

The longest document in this booklet, and in many ways the most significant and profound, is Samora Machel's speech, "The Liberation of Women is a Fundamental Necessity for the Revolution".

In this report made to the First Conference of Mozambican Women, on March 4, 1973, Samora Machel (whose wife Joselina, a member of the liberation army, died in battle), boldly and without equivocation, states the case for prior attention to be given to the emancipation of women.

Tracing the origins of women's oppression —"the exploitation of women and their consequent oppression starts in the system of private ownership of the means of production, in the system of exploitation of man by man"—he points out that in class society "a woman is even exploited by a man who is himself exploited, beaten by the man who is lacerated by the *palmatoria*, humiliated by the man who is crushed under the boot of the boss...".

A consequence of her plight under such double oppression is that the woman becomes exceptionally alienated. Explaining this process, Samora Machel notes that:

> "The process of alienation reaches its peak when the exploited person, reduced to total passivity, is no longer capable of imagining that the possibility of liberation exists and in turn becomes a tool for the propagation of the ideology of resignation and passivity. It must be recognised that the centuries-old subjugation of women has to a great extent reduced them to a passive state, which prevents them from even understanding their condition."

Samora Machel does not allow this, however, to be used as an excuse for the argument put forward by some that the women have to be liberated by Frelimo, since women will not do it themselves.

The job of Frelimo, he argues, is on the contrary, to awaken the women to the necessity and their own capacity to liberate themselves and to their understanding that this is only possible as part of the total revolution directed to abolishing the exploitive society.

THE YOUNG ENGELS

As promised by the publishers, Vol. 2 of the 50-volume English Edition of the Collected Works of Marx and Engels[1] has appeared, a bare three months after Vol. 1. It is confidently anticipated that Volumes 3 and 4 will likewise appear this year. And, thereafter, the other Volumes will appear at a steady rate of three or four a year.

Volume 2 is devoted entirely to Engels—to his first articles for local papers and for the *Rheinische Zeitung*, his letters, poems, translations of other people's poems, book reviews, sketches of plays, cartoons, all produced between 1838 and 1842, that is between his eighteenth and twenty-second year. It also contains facts about him, school and army reports and letters by his father—mainly sadly disapproving ones about his son's character, views and likely bad end, as well as a number of interesting illustrations, including some of Engels and his family.

The whole adds up to a volume of nearly 700 pages, the last hundred consisting of most useful explanatory notes and of indexes and appendices of various kinds.

The reader's first reaction is one of amazement that one so young can have read so much and write with such brilliance, assurance, and erudition on such a wide variety of subjects. Engels takes in his stride Religion, including much scholarly analysis of Biblical contradictions; Philosophy, especially in defence of Hegel against the reactionary Schelling; political developments in Germany; Shakespeare and other world literary figures; the state of German literature,

[1] Karl Marx—Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, *Engels; 1834-1842*. Lawrence and Wishart, £3.00.

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poetry and drama, particularly a critical analysis of the "Young Germany" movement (of writers originally dedicated to progressive political aims); Music; the impact of nascent German capitalism on the workers and people of Wuppertal; the situation in Britain; in France after the 1830 Revolution and much else.

ON RELIGION

Engels was brought up in a pious Christian family. His letters to old school friends studying to be pastors, reflect his painful intellectual struggle first to try and reconcile the kind of Christianity expounded by local preachers and practised by the local Elders, with his own innate decency and humanism, and secondly, to free himself from religious beliefs altogether.

The intolerance shown towards non-believers—the "rationalists" as they were called—the fearful obscurantism of the local "Pietists" who showered "curses on all who think differently", their hypocrisy and smug certainty about their own rectitude and thus of heavenly reward, revolted him and impelled him towards scepticism.

This plus his growing inability to reconcile religious illusions with his rational approach to things began to complete his progress towards a consistent scientific, materialist and communist outlook. But it was not an easy process and far more difficult for him than for Marx.

Of especial interest to British readers are five short articles on Britain written for the *Rheinische Zeitung* in November and December 1842, a few days after his arrival here on his first visit. They are marked by an extraordinary knowledge of British political affairs and of Chartism and discuss problems of a revolution in Britain in surprisingly topical terms.

AGAINST THE PHILISTINE

Engels' letters to his sister—teasing but affectionate—give us a fascinating picture of the life of a prosperous German family in the 30s of the last century long before the advent of the cinema, radio and television, and describe how people entertained themselves in those days.

They also reveal Engels, despite his deep intellectual interests, as a young man who shared the tastes, pleasures and experiences of his generation. He enjoyed a convivial evening with lots to drink. He liked smoking, riding, fencing and walking. He suffered the heartbreak usual at his time of life of a disastrous love affair.

He is a little consciously clever at times in letters to his sister and his friends. He boasts of his great and undoubted flair for languages, writing that "I now understand twenty-five languages". And about his wide knowledge of literature. But he was young and can therefore be forgiven.

He is interested in his clothes and in his appearance especially when he is in army uniform and long before the present young generation got round to it, advocated long hair as a weapon of struggle against "the Philistines". His complaint . . . "I might look interesting if, instead of my present young moustache I had the one I had in Bremen and my long hair" will evoke sympathy and fellow-feeling in many a reader.

Most of all, however, this volume expresses Engels' hatred of tyrany, censorship, the imposition of ideas and attitudes on people, especially of everything rigid, petrified and obsolete. It proclaims his great commitment to the struggle for freedom and equality, for power to the people, for the triumph of reason, his passion for the young, the new, the progressive, whether in literature, philosophy, politics and society.

A NEW ENGELS BIOGRAPHY

Efforts continue to be made to counterpose Marx to Engels, to devalue the latter's role in that famous combination and especially to depict him as the father of dogmatic Marxism, allegedly on the grounds that he made Marxism into a rigid "system".

A full and detailed account of his life, ideas and activities is therefore especially welcome.

The latest Engels biography[2] which has just appeared is the English translation of a work by a collective of Soviet writers who prepared it for the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow. It is a big volume of some 500 pages and contains many photographs, many of them new to English students of Marxism.

Its 15 chapters cover the whole span of Engels' long creative and most active life, all of it devoted to Marx, to developing Marxist theory and, especially, to building Marxist workers' parties, advancing the struggle of the working class against capitalism and for socialism.

His many-sided talents are outlined—his

[2] *Frederick Engels: A Biography*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, £1.50. Available from Central Books.

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gift for languages ("I can can stammer in twenty" he once said), his military expertise, his ability, above all, to convey complex political, economic, philosophical and scientific ideas in simple and compelling language.

But the book conveys perhaps most strongly of all, the fantastic unity of ideas and practical political activity of the two founders of Marxism. They complemented one another amazingly. Their almost daily exchange of ideas through correspondence, the assistance Engels gave to Marx in areas where his knowledge was greater—and vice versa, their close collaboration, meant that, for all practical purposes, many of their individual books were really joint productions.

Engels' long and fruitful contact with Britain and the British Labour movement dating from his early days in his father's Manchester firm, is described extensively. This is of especial interest to British readers.

Amongst his many qualities the book emphasises his kindness and especially his modesty. The devoted care he lavished on Marx and his family, the time he spent advising active fighters in the socialist movement from all over the world, is proof of the former. The latter is illustrated by his remarks quoted in the book on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. He had received greetings from all over the world but he abhorred public ceremony. "I wish the whole thing was over . . . all this needless fuss" and later: "Both Marx and I have always been opposed to public demonstrations dedicated to individuals, and most of all we were against such demonstrations in our lifetime".

THE ANATOMY OF HUMAN DESTRUCTIVENESS

Erich Fromm, whose "Fear of Freedom" is well known has written a useful book on the roots of aggression[3]. He points out that remarkably few species of animals are spontaneously aggressive, and those few quite off the evolutionary line of the mammals. All recent studies of apes and their allies reveal no evidence for natural aggression even among baboons and gorillas. Aggression cannot be explained in terms of animal heredity. We have to look rather to those features in which man differs from the animals if we want to find the real cause. Neither among them nor among man's hominid ancestors do we find evidence of innate aggression or even the predatory instincts of the carnivores. They were small, weak, defenceless and not provided with natural means for attack. They probably lived on plants, small animals, insects and as scavengers. Aggression under the difficult conditions of the pre-human hominids and early man would indeed have been fatal. Only through co-operation could man have survived. Therefore we must look for the cause elsewhere than in a natural tendency to violence. He draws clear distinction between acceptable *defensive* behaviour in the face of threats—clearly if men did not resist when attacked they would not survive—and spontaneous, uncaused, malignant aggression.

Fromm conducts a psychological and at the same time social enquiry, based on a modified Freudian standpoint, into the causes of this destructive type of conduct which, in his theory, springs from a particular *type of character* which is not innate but the result of the conditions surrounding the development of individuals in a particular society. It is, in his opinion, a distortion of the basic life-urge which becomes a passion for death and destruction. Fromm shows that this occurs when social conditions, such as cut-throat competition or the fostering of acquisitive forms of economic life, mould the growth of the personality. But Fromm points out that there are also socio-economic conditions which foster the development of the positive, life-fulfilling and friendly type of character. In such cases there arises a co-operative type of person, seeking unity with others, recognising others, and directed by a life purpose.

If this is the case, to attribute aggressive conduct to human nature is simply an alibi for our own mistakes or those for which our society is responsible for. It creates a diversion from the real task of discovering the psychological and social origins of the "Aggressive" character type, on the one hand, and on the other the conditions under which normal, positive development of human character are encouraged and made possible.

WHEN KARL MARX DIED

When the *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* of New York reported some twelve years prematurely "the sudden and unexpected death of Karl Marx" on September 23rd, 1871, together with a moving resolution of grief from the Council of the Cosmopolitan Society, Marx replied (in the issue of October

[3] Erich Fromm—*The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*, Cape, £4.50.

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21st), that he was not only quite undead, but busy attending a conference in London of the International Workingmen's Association.

Philip Foner has conceived the interesting idea of finding out how the world press, progressive and reactionary, treated the *real* death of Karl Marx on March 14th, 1883. From his research he compiled a book entitled "When Karl Marx Died"[1]. He gives the texts of the speeches pronounced at Highgate Cemetery, a biographical sketch of Marx by his daughter Eleanor (published in *Progress* in May 1883), the reactions to Marx's death in the press of the United States, Europe, and other continents, as well as full contemporary accounts of the Memorial Meeting held at the Cooper Union, New York, on March 20th, 1883—the outstanding memorial event held anywhere in the world in the week that followed Marx's death.

"Marx", said Engels in his funeral oration, "was the best hated and most calumniated man of his times". But, "he was also the most loved", added Wilhelm Liebknecht, "most hated by the oppressors and exploiters of the people; but loved by the oppressed and exploited, as far as they are conscious of their situation".

Philip Foner's research shows that whilst the labour and socialist press, particularly in the USA, for the most part paid warm tributes to Marx's life and work, the bourgeois press, in the main, received the news of his death with a conspiracy of silence. In Russia, despite the rigid censorship, there was some serious treatment in the liberal press with particularly moving tribute in *Studenchestvo*, illegal organ of the St. Petersburg University Circle.

The British press excelled in its silence. The *Times* on March 17th contributed a 10-line biography. The *Manchester Guardian* was more serious (March 19th). The *Pall Mall Gazette* (March 16th) noted how "extraordinary" it was "that the death of Karl Marx should have been allowed to pass by us almost unnoticed", adding that his work *Capital* would "exercise a growing influence on men of all classes who think earnestly on social questions". The radical *Reynolds* found no room for a mention and the *Illustrated London News* in its obituary section of March 17th, 1883, ignored his very existence, whilst those it deigned then to remember are mostly now forgotten.

[1] Philip S. Foner (editor)—*When Karl Marx Died*, New World Paperbacks, International Publishers, New York. Obtainable through Central Books for £1.60.

The capitalist press has not much changed, it ignores the revolutionaries just so long as it dares. Then suddenly, when their influence becomes undeniable, impossible any longer to conceal, it shouts aloud its hatred, finds plots and conspiracies everywhere, damns, distorts, denigrates. And the very men and movements who, a few weeks or months before, were not, according to its columns, supposed to exist, are now supposed to be bringing "civilised" society to the brink of ruin.

The smooth silence and the savage slander equally reflect the fear and hatred of the capitalist class for Marxists and for Marxism. Both equally should be taken as a tribute to the real contribution of Marxists to the working class and progressive movement.

LONDON SCIENCE GROUP

At a meeting on February 20, a group of comrades agreed to accept responsibility for developing a London-based Science Group in addition to their other political activities. It is hoped that as the group develops, it will provide the basis for an expanding programme of activities, including production of *Science Bulletin*. The programme for the next few months includes:

Thursday, April 24.
Luke Hodgkin; "Changing Role of Science in Production".
Thursday, May 22.
Pauline Robinson: "Alternative Sources of Energy".
Derek Boothman: "Energy Policy in the Party".
Thursday, June 26.
Jonathan Slack: "Science Policy and the Research Councils".

All meetings start at 7 p.m. at the ICWA Lounge, Imperial College, London, S.W.7.

It is hoped that all comrades working in the science field in London will make an effort to attend.

MERLIN PRESS ANNOUNCES

Changes in the Merlin Book Club are announced, from their new eyrie in the Isle of Dogs. Most of the new selections are now in paperback, and as earlier editions go out of print they will also be brought into paperback. One selection for 1975 is in cloth—*Socialism and Revolution* by Andre Gorz, being published in Penguins at £4.00, available to members at £2.00. Other selections include the major philosophical work of Lukacs, *The Young Hegel*, and a new edition of *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe*, a book that has been compared to the *Wheelwright's Shop* as a classic of rural England, with an Introduction by E. P. Thompson.

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Frelimo President's Independence Message

Samora Machel

On September 7, 1974, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mario Soares, and the President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) Samora Machel, signed an agreement in Lusaka, Zambia, establishing the procedure for the transfer of power in Mozambique to an independent government headed by FRELIMO.

Under the terms of the agreement Mozambique will become independent on June 25, 1975; during the interim period prior to this date a transitional government will administer the territory, composed of a High Commissioner appointed by the Portuguese Government, a Prime Minister designated by FRELIMO, and nine Cabinet Ministers of whom six are appointed by FRELIMO and three by Portugal. The High Commissioner, Admiral Victor Crespo, will act as Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Armed Forces in Mozambique during this interim period.

On September 20 the transitional government with Joaquim Chissano as Prime Minister was sworn in in a ceremony at Lourenço Marques. A message from the FRELIMO President, Samora Machel, was read to this ceremony. We publish below some extensive extracts from this important statement. The subheads are ours.

The investiture of the transitional government opens a new phase in our history, the phase of the final march towards independence.

Today we are assuming leadership in the government of our country in a period of transition which will lead to the proclamation of Mozambique's total and complete independence on June 25, 1975, the anniversary of the founding of FRELIMO.

We have inherited a difficult and serious social, economic, financial and cultural situation resulting from centuries of oppression and colonial plunder, aggravated by decades of colonial-fascist domination and repression and further exacerbated by the recent criminal adventure of a small band of racists and reactionaries in the city of Lourenço Marques.

A Period of Transition

We are faced with a heritage of widespread illiteracy, disease, poverty and hunger. We see our people, and particularly the people in the countryside, living in subhuman conditions of poverty and exploitation. We see destruction, resentment and hatred created by centuries of oppression and instigated by the colonial war of aggression which the reactionaries, colonialists and fascists launched in order to divide and confuse us.

It is thus a complex situation that the transitional government has before it, and the tasks it faces, therefore, are difficult. However, the difficulties were even greater a little over a decade ago, when we started our thrust towards national liberation. We do not hide the difficulties, nor do we shut our eyes to them. But nothing can make us forget that we are today entering upon an exalting phase in our history; for the first time the Mozambican people have a government of their own, a government of their representatives, a government to serve them.

Thus the Mozambican people have an instrument both able and prepared to face the serious problems of the present phase: a government led by FRELIMO and which has within it militants seasoned in the tough struggle for national liberation, in political and armed struggle, in clandestine struggle.

Our people's experience of a state and government, the experience of all workers, has been that state and government are oppressive structures, hostile forces compelling us to submit and resign ourselves to foreign domination, to the domination of big financial interests.

Tasks of the Transitional Government

Under FRELIMO's leadership, the transitional government has the fundamental task of creating the conditions for people's democratic power to be extended to areas which up to now are still under colonial domination. Whereas for the millions of Mozambicans who have established their power in the liberated zones this is already a reality and a practical experience, the same is not true for the remainder of the country.

This means that we all need to learn what

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our power is and how to exercise it. We shall all need to know what distinguishes our power from colonial power.

Power belongs to the people. It has been won by the people and it must be exercised and defended by the people.

Before the people's victory, power belonged to colonialism and was the expression of the domination of our country by companies.

Who ruled? The rulers were those who served the interests of a handful of big exploiters.

Years of rule enabled them to accumulate fortunes through the abuse of power, by theft, large sums given in exchange for favours granted to the companies, rewards for ceding the country's resources and even for selling human beings.

After serving their term as governors, they immediately joined the boards of directors of large enterprises where they received inflated salaries as payment for services rendered.

The government of the exploiter was characterised by privilege, despotic arrogance, favouritism, nepotism and lawlessness. Problems were solved through the system of "string pulling", and such basic rights as the right to work were made to seem like favours from the rulers. Even a woman's dignity had exchange value for obtaining employment.

Today, for the first time in Mozambique's history, comrades are being appointed to government posts.

When we say "comrades" we are using a word bathed in blood and sacrifices. Comrades are those who have fought in clandestinity, those who suffered torture and death in the prisons, those who gave of their bodies and intellect on the battlefield, those who built freedom, those who made us what we are, those capable of translating their aspirations into action, who have devoted their lives to the service of our people.

Representatives of the People

The comrades who are today being given the difficult task of conducting the state machinery until the proclamation of independence are precisely the representatives of the people in the leadership of the state.

This representativeness has been earned in the varied and hard tasks of the politico-military struggle for national liberation. They are all veterans of the people's struggle, seasoned in the toughest school of government: the struggle for national liberation and national reconstruction in the liberated zones.

No one can claim that they are representatives of a race, ethnic group, region or religious belief. They represent the working people, their sacrifices and aspirations, the whole people from the Rovuma to the Maputo, without distinction as to race, ethnic group or religion. No one fought for a region, race, tribe or religion. We all fought and are still fighting for the same nation, for the single ideal of liberating our land and our people.

The authenticity of the people's representatives in the leadership of the state is more than just an assertion: it must be manifested in the content of government action and in the method of work.

To govern is not to issue laws and decrees, which the masses do not understand the reasons for, but which everyone must comply with for fear of being punished.

To govern one needs to know exactly the interests of the working masses, formulated and discussed with them and not merely on their behalf. To govern is to be able to fulfil those interests in the decision taking.

To govern is always to be closely linked with the masses in order to sound out their preoccupations and discuss with them so as to come to a correct decision together, not disregarding the details of everyday matters on the pretext that they are minor problems. A decision taken in this way mobilises people and any difficulties or obstacles which crop up will be overcome because the people understand the decision and see it as their own.

FRELIMO's Political Line

Conversely, the government will be unable to solve any problem if it remains enclosed in a building, governing by bureaucratic and administrative methods. The solution of the problems of the masses and of the country is more political than administrative. Therefore it is FRELIMO's political line, forged in the intransigent struggle to defend the interests of the masses, that must guide government action, it is FRELIMO that must orientate the government and the masses.

In every factory, every department, every service, every commercial establishment, in every agricultural enterprise, party committees must be formed to implement the watchwords of FRELIMO and the transitional government, thus releasing the people's initiative and setting in motion the masses' creative ability.

We will thus establish true democracy throughout the country, which is the essential principle of FRELIMO which has guided political life within the organisation and in national reconstruction in the liberated areas.

FRELIMO's People's Democratic Govern-

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ment is also distinguished from the colonialist government by its collective working style, joint discussion and analysis of problems, mutual co-operation and the elimination of the compartmentalisation of work sectors. Thus and only thus can government actions be harmonious and efficient.

Our government's action must be guided first and foremost by our political line. The political must never be subordinated to the technical. In practice this means that in each productive unit, in each ministry, in each public service throughout the whole of our nation, our main effort must be to develop people's consciousness of their destiny, their awareness that to build Mozambique, to build freedom, means work, doing away with laziness and poverty.

A Way of Life

We also want to call attention to a key factor: the need for leaders to live according to FRELIMO's political line, the need for them to represent the sacrifices made by the masses in their behaviour. Power and the facilities which surround rulers can easily corrupt the firmest man.

We therefore want them to live modestly and with the people, not turning the task entrusted to them into a privilege, a means of accumulating property or handing out favours.

Material, moral and ideological corruption, bribery, seeking comforts, string pulling, nepotism, that is favours based on friendship, and especially giving preferential employment to relatives, friends or people from one's own region, all this is characteristic of the system which we are destroying. Tribalism, regionalism, racism and unprincipled alliances are serious onslaughts on our political line and divide the masses. Because power belongs to the people those who exercise it are servants of the people.

Anyone who thus deforms our line can expect no tolerance from us. We shall be intransigent on this, as we were during the hard war years. We shall never have any hesitation in exposing to the masses crimes committed against them. Deviations from our line breed contradictions, cracks through which the enemy, imperialism and the reactionary forces can enter.

To maintain the austerity required for our life as militants and thus preserve the meaning of the sacrifices of our people, all FRELIMO militants with government tasks must now, as in the past, shun material preoccupations particularly regarding salaries. What is more, we cannot tolerate one of our representatives owning means of production or exploiting the labour of others.

For ten years we fought without any concern of an individual financial nature, involved only in devoting all our energy to serving the people. This is the characteristic of FRELIMO's militants, cadres and leaders.

As we have always done and in accordance with our means, we try to ensure that each militant who carries out a task has the minimum material conditions required for his work, his sustenance and that of his family. But we must also not forget that we have often fought and won with bare feet, dressed in rags and hungry.

It must also be stressed that just as we fought a war without a time-table, without vacations, without days of rest, we must engage in the battle for national reconstruction in the same spirit.

This means that as always, the decisive factor for our victory is identifying with our line and implementing it, rejecting luxuries, fighting corruption, to practise austerity, and fighting extravagance.

The watchword is work and self-sacrifice.

FRELIMO's Leadership

If the government is to be really capable of making the interests of the working masses its own and never deviating from serving the people, it is essential that it remain constantly under FRELIMO's leadership.

Within FRELIMO are the organised masses, conscious of their true interests, within FRELIMO are the militants forged and seasoned in the people's struggle, guaranteeing the intransigent defence of the interests of the workers and the Revolution. Hence, only FRELIMO is capable of organising, guiding, orientating and leading the millions of Mozambican women and men in the present battle to build people's democratic power and for national reconstruction.

The government is FRELIMO's instrument at the state level, the executive arm of the people's will. If the arm is amputated from the body it will rapidly decay and decompose.

State power has been won through the struggle of our people, united by our correct line, under FRELIMO's leadership. At the start the broad masses were not organised, we had neither weapons nor state power. Colonialism had the subjugated masses, economic and military strength and the state apparatus. Colonialism lost everything because the people were not with it and it had neither a correct political line nor just leadership.

This means that a government which deviates from the people's interests, from FRELIMO's political line and leadership, is like the colonial-fascist regime, bound to be overthrown.

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Led by FRELIMO, the transitional government begins its action today.

Although it is not for us to spell out the transitional government's programme, since this is its own task, it is nevertheless necessary to define, as from now, the tasks which must be undertaken by FRELIMO, the government and the masses at this decisive moment in our country's reconstruction.

These have to do with mobilising and organising the masses, with institutions of government and national reconstruction; and finally with the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, the armed wing of our working people.

Decolonisation

As regards the state and its institutions, it is first necessary to decolonise and, secondly, to build the appropriate structures for people's democratic power.

Decolonisation does not mean the geographical transfer of the decision-making centres from Lisbon to Lourenço Marques, which the deposed regime was in fact already proposing to do, and neither is it the continuation of the oppressive regime, this time with black-skinned rulers, which is the neo-colonial pattern.

To decolonise the state means essentially to dismantle the political, administrative, cultural, financial, economic, educational, judicial and other systems which, as an integral part of the colonial state, were solely designed to impose foreign domination and the will of the exploiters on the masses.

In this, although we can seek inspiration and stimulation from the revolutionary experience of other peoples, we shall build on the foundation of our own originality, basing ourselves on the specific conditions of our country. We shall thus also enrich the revolutionary heritage of humanity, a duty we have been fulfilling over these hard years of struggle.

The decisive factor for our success is the unity of our people from the Rovuma to the Maputo. The enemy rose and will always rise against this unity: yesterday's colonialism and today's reactionaries and imperialists, exploiters from every race.

As in the past, they will try to use everything. Overt or covert appeals to racism, tribalism and regionalism will be intensified. We will make relentless use of the same liberating fire that wiped out colonialism in opposing racism, tribalism and regionalism, because these are the commanders-in-chief of the enemy's forces which attack and destroy our people's unity, the main weapon in our struggle.

These are the essential instruments which weakened our people in the past and allowed them to be dominated.

As regards our action in the field of socio-economic development, it is necessary right away to lay down a number of priorities, so as to know how to orientate our efforts.

We inherited a colonial economic structure in which the productive factors did not serve our country or our people, but foreign domination. We must combat this situation by laying the foundations of an independent economy to serve the working masses.

The transitional government must try as rapidly as possible to solve the serious financial problems, in particular the monetary situation and the establishment of a Mozambican Bank of Issue, and make a frontal attack on the most pressing problems of the broad masses in our country: hunger and lack of clothing and housing.

These ills were not an act of fate, but a result of the system of exploitation. If the productive efforts of the working masses are made within a system of social organisation which fights exploitation, these problems will be gradually eliminated, as the evidence of our liberated areas shows.

Economic Strategy

Faced with the present economic and financial situation, characterised by a balance of payments deficit and a rapidly rising cost of living, especially as regards essential goods, our economic strategy must be based on the principle of relying on our own efforts, with emphasis on the following watchwords: austerity and work.

The present situation demands, on the one hand, that we fight against superfluous and luxury consumption, avoid wastage and accept sacrifices. On the other hand, we must throw ourselves fully into the economic development of our country, which means stepping up production and raising productivity.

Indeed, economic development is essentially the result of work. More work means higher production, which in turn enables us to raise our standard of living.

With the conquest of political power by the people, the foundations are laid for solving the problems of the working masses in accordance with their interests.

New Economic Structures

Adequate structures will be established for the correct solution of problems which crop up in labour relations.

Mere wage increases will not solve the problems facing the working masses, especially since in the present situation they would inevitably

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be transferred to price increases which would automatically cancel out the higher purchasing power.

Under these conditions, at this stage in the life of our country, there is no more reason for strikes because our main concern should be to restructure and re-launch our economy.

Another defect which is characteristic of the structure we have inherited is the tremendous imbalance in regional development, particularly the imbalance between town and countryside.

The overwhelming majority of our people live in the countryside, and it is in the countryside that are to be found the natural resources which must be developed so as to make our country prosper. It was the countryside that suffered most from the destructive effects of war and it is in the countryside that the clearest signs of hunger can be seen. It is therefore towards the countryside that our main efforts to improve the living conditions of the masses will be directed. Priority must be given to the development of our agriculture, animal husbandry and the most effective use of our sub-soil resources.

Agriculture will therefore be the base of our development and industry its galvanising factor.

Industrial development must be based on the processing of our natural resources, which will make it possible to diversify and increase the value of exports.

We must launch an unyielding struggle against the vestiges of colonialism, decadent values, erroneous ideas, the attitude of uncritically imitating foreigners, and against immorality. We must affirm and develop our Mozambican personality by strengthening our unity, constantly exchanging experiences and merging the contributions made by all of us. In this respect we must bear in mind that the city is one of the centres of vice and corruption and of alienating foreign influences.

Education and Culture

We will place training, education and culture primarily at the service of the broad masses oppressed and humiliated by the system of colonialist and capitalist exploitation. The blood of our people was not shed only to free the land from foreign domination, but also to reconquer our Mozambican personality, to bring about the resurgence of our culture and to create a new mentality, a new society. The priority aim of education will be to wage a vigorous battle against illiteracy, a product of colonialism which today affects the overwhelming majority of our people. This effort must be centred especially on rural areas, where schools are practically non-existent.

The schools must be fronts in our vigorous and conscious battle against illiteracy, ignorance and obscurantism. They must be centres for wiping out the colonial-capitalist mentality and the negative aspects of the traditional mentality: superstition, individualism, selfishness, élitism and ambition must be fought in them. There should be no place in them for social, racial or sexual discrimination. Above all, the masses must have both access to and power in the schools, universities and culture.

We are engaged in a Revolution whose advance depends on the creation of the new man, with a new mentality. We are engaged in a Revolution aimed at the establishment of people's democratic power. Therefore at school level we must be able to introduce collective work and create an open climate of criticism and self-criticism. Teachers and pupils must learn from one another in a climate of mutual trust and harmonious comradely relations in which it will be possible to release the initiative of each and develop the talents of all, so that all grow together in the great task of national reconstruction.

Our schools must truly be centres for the propagation of national culture and political, technical and scientific knowledge. The propaganda of knowledge must be aimed at mobilising nature and human potentialities for development and progress of society.

It is therefore necessary to democratise teaching methods. Pupils and trainees must play a responsible part in creating a school of a new type in which manual labour is accorded its due value as one of the sources of knowledge, closely related to practice, drawing inspiration from it and serving the people.

Fighting Disease

Raising the living conditions of the masses demands fighting disease by improving health conditions. We have inherited a situation in which the vast majority of medical personnel and equipment is concentrated in the towns to serve the minority which can pay, and what is more this takes the form of intense racial and social discrimination in hospitals.

As from now, we must throw ourselves enthusiastically into health work among the broad masses, so as to wipe out the causes of disease, improve eating habits by enriching the diet and eliminating unhygienic traditions. In this field priority must be given to preventive medicine, which is in line with our present capacity and facilities.

This work is not simply a bureaucratic or technical task, but above all a political battle,

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demanding the mobilisation of the people, which is now possible on a national scale because the people are in power.

The Judiciary

The judiciary must be reorganised so as to make justice accessible and comprehensible to the ordinary citizen of our land. The bourgeois system surrounded the administration of justice with unnecessary complexity, with legalism which made it inaccessible to the masses, with deliberately confusing and misleading jargon, and with such slow proceedings and high costs as to create a barrier between the people and justice. In short, the existing legal system in our country serves the rich and is accessible only to them.

The path we want to follow is that of simplifying and speeding up the application of justice, within the framework of new laws and rules which the transitional government must begin to study immediately, bearing in mind the existing situation and the gradual transformation which must be effected.

The basic policy in the field of justice should be inspired by our experience in the liberated areas, where crimes and offences have been almost completely eliminated owing to two combined factors: the improvement of the people's living conditions and the heightening of their political consciousness by thorough and constant political work. This means that it must be our concern to prevent crime by eliminating its causes.

The People in Arms

It is the duty of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, FRELIMO's army, the people in arms, an army of peasants and workers, to consolidate the people's victory and defend the Revolution.

FRELIMO's army is not a barracks army. It is an army which studies, produces and fights. This means that the army must have a study centre so that its members, especially veteran militants of the national liberation struggle, have the possibility of continuing to raise their political, educational, cultural and technical level. It will thus be possible further to develop our army's operational and organisational capacity, and it will be able fully to assume the defence of the nation.

At the same time we find in the army people who came from every region of our country, bringing with them the rich and varied traditions of our people. In the army these traditions are harmoniously merged, ceasing to be regional and local culture to become national culture. So, being a centre of cultural fusion, our army also is a centre for the propagation of national culture among the broad masses. We must never forget that an army without culture is an army without national personality, with no popularly based motivation, and hence it is a weak army.

Now, as in the past, every unit of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must continue to be a production centre.

FRELIMO's army is not an army of parasites; it is an army with a tradition of productive labour, an army which produces for its own subsistence, which helps the people to improve their living conditions and learn about new production methods and new crops. This work must be continued.

At the same time the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must remain actively vigilant and in a state of constant preparedness, so as to put down any attempt at external agression as well as any attempt by reactionaries aimed at jeopardising independence, sabotaging national reconstruction and destroying the Revolution.

The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique also have the task of mobilising and organising the broad masses. Since the start of the struggle, our combatants have been actively carrying out political work among the masses, which contributed decisively to our victory over colonialism. This work must continue and even more vigorously, guided by the objectives which correspond to the new phase.

At this hour of struggle and also of happiness, we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by feelings of victory and excessive euphoria. The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique must be well aware that they come from the people, that it was the people who built our victory, and that they are our only heroes. It is therefore by remaining closely linked with the people, by still organising the masses, that we will be able to win the new battle in which we are now engaged.

The Liberation of Women

One of the major fronts in the struggle for the genuine liberation of our people is the liberation of women.

Mozambican women are still weighed down by two burdens: on the one hand reactionary traditions which deprive them of initiative in society and reduce them to mere instruments of men and, on the other, the colonial-capitalist system which regards them as objects of exploitation and a means of production. We must wage a close struggle for the emancipation of women and the restoration of their dignity.

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We must, in particular, put an immediate end to that supremely degrading expression of the colonial-capitalist system, prostitution, the sale of the body as though it were a mobile shop. The transitional government has the task of re-integrating these elements in society through productive labour.

A New Era of Race Relations

Finally we wish to address ourselves to Mozambique's white population, whether Portuguese or foreign nationals in general. The first words we wish to convey to them are words of calm and trust. FRELIMO has never fought against the Portuguese people or against the white race. FRELIMO is an organisation for all Mozambicans without distinction as to race, colour, ethnic group or religion. Our struggle has always been against the colonial system of oppression and exploitation. Therefore all those who live off their honest labour, whom we know to be the overwhelming majority of the white population, have a positive contribution to make to our country's national reconstruction, together with the entire Mozambican people.

At the same time, we wish to remind the whole people that, with this phase, we are now entering upon a new era of race relations in Mozambique: all superiority and inferiority complexes created and reinforced by centuries of colonialism must be completely eliminated. The white population must wage a profound internal struggle and eliminate the attitudes of superiority and paternalism towards blacks and other racial groups which still influence the minds of many, so as to blend in with the Mozambican people as a whole. This watchword is also valid for many people in the Asian community and many mulattoes, who still regard themselves as superior or different to the black population.

The black population must also wage internal struggle against the inferiority complexes instilled in it by centuries of colonialism, and which fascism rendered particularly acute. These are the complexes behind the reactions of individual revenge and hatred which are contrary to our policy. FRELIMO fought for the people's interests and can never allow the sacrifices made to be used as an instrument of personal revenge and hatred, however great the burden of suffering and humiliation under colonialism.

There are no superior and inferior races. But it is not enough to talk about racial harmony for everyone to get on well together from one day to the next. What is needed is the political work of constant explanation, a conscious effort to change attitudes and habits, a deliberate effort to make people of the different races which go to make up our people, live together in harmony. The togetherness which must be established must be full and real, and not just superficial togetherness during hours of work and in professional relations. Most especially, clubs and associations based on racial, ethnic or regional origins must be transformed into associations for all Mozambicans, into centres of Mozambican culture where all can meet in a healthy spirit of true fraternity, and with a clearly defined political line on the building of a new society.

We should like especially to draw attention to the fact that since the fact of being Mozambican is not determined by skin colour, language, religious belief, social origin or sex, we must vigorously combat the minority concept which some people are trying to instil in the minds of especially white Mozambicans.

There are no minorities, there are no special rights or duties for any sector of the Mozambican people: we are all Mozambicans with the rights that work gives us, and with the identical duty of building a united, prosperous, just, harmonious, peaceful and democratic nation.

Politics Must Guide

In all we have said we have kept the dominant idea that politics must guide government action, and that this action will not succeed unless it is fully understood by the masses.

Hence the chief task of all FRELIMO militants is to further the work of organising the masses and guiding them in each factory, each agricultural unit, each PFLM detachment, each co-operative, each neighbourhood, each department, so that the government is constantly aware of the people's feelings and thoughts. In other words the FRELIMO militant's work is to create the conditions to release the creative initiative of the masses, to free them from passive obedience and to create structures and channels through which the will of the masses can determine government action.

This also means that they should not passively wait for solutions sent down from on high by the minister in his office, but, on the contrary, what can be done immediately by relying on one's own efforts should be analysed in every productive unit, village, neighbourhood, and family cell. At the same time, and guided by FRELIMO's political line, suggestions on organisation and improvement which contribute to progress and increased productivity in each sector must be studied and formulated.

For this purpose, in each place of work or residence a party committee should be set up, comprising the militants who are most dedicated and most committed to the cause of indepen-

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dence, progress, democracy and the Mozambican Revolution.

Vigilance Against Reaction

Another task of these committees and of all the people is active and constant vigilance against open or disguised sabotage attempts by agents of colonialist reaction who, although they have lost the decisive battle have not yet laid down their arms and still have accomplices at various levels. All those attempts must be publicly exposed in order to neutralise those responsible. Yet we shall never allow this task to be used for settling personal scores, attempts at personal advancement for selfish ends or any kind of manifestation of racism.

We can therefore see that the action of racist and colonialist forces will sometimes take the form of overt or covert sabotage, that is, of typical reactionary activities.

Such action is doomed to fail because one will be dealing with a clearly defined enemy. Therefore, reactionary action will also take other more insidious forms which, assuming a revolutionary appearance, will in fact be aimed at creating chaos and divisions among our forces. This means that we shall find reactionaries disguised as ultra-revolutionaries, who will demand of the government drastic and extremist measures, seeking to present them as immediate revolutionary necessities. These elements, as such, are weak, but their action will be aimed at manipulating certain sectors of our population, selfless and militant but politically uneducated sectors which are likely to be used by the enemy.

Ultra-leftism is thus a weapon of reaction.

Friendship with the Portuguese People

We should like, on this occasion, to address ourselves to the High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic in Mozambique, in whom we see a representative of the new leaders of the Portuguese people and Armed Forces Movement.

We wish to reaffirm the friendship which unites us with the Portuguese people, and in particular with the Portuguese democratic forces, a friendship forged in the common struggle against the colonial-fascist regime.

That common struggle continues.

Colonialism has already been buried, Mozambique's independence will be a fact within a few months. Let us therefore definitely turn towards the future. What matters now is to build the future relations between our peoples, between the democratic forces of our countries.

And the future relations between our peoples largely depend on the actions of the High Commissioner and on frank and sincere co-operation between the High Commissioner and the transitional government.

Together with the High Commissioner, the transitional government will build, stone by stone, the edifice of friendship and co-operation which we hope will be a historical example. We are faced with the tremendous challenge of a unique historical situation—the simultaneous liberation of two peoples through a common victory against fascism and colonialism. Neither of us liberated the other, it was mutual liberation through a parallel struggle which must take on new scope in the future.

Even now in the co-operation established between our forces in the struggle against the death throes of colonial-fascist reaction, we presented to the world a singular demonstration of the fact that the identification of peoples in the struggle against a common enemy is not an empty word, but that it is possible, open and fruitful, even between yesterday's colonised and those who were forced to be instruments of that colonisation.

We therefore expect the High Commissioner, in the spirit of the Lusaka Agreement, to carry out to the full what we regard as his most inspiring duties, which are to give impetus to the process of decolonisation, eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and lay the foundations for a new type of relations between our peoples.

In line with its political principles, and remaining true to the commitments it has undertaken, FRELIMO will co-operate sincerely with the High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic and with the Portuguese Armed Forces, so as to fulfil together the tasks of the present phase and build the future.

Tribute to Those who Fell

At this moment, we wish to pay heartfelt and stirring tribute to the memory of all our heroes, to all those who made both us and our country what we are today. Among them all and to remind us of them all, we wish to evoke the unforgettable memory of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, founder member and first President of FRELIMO, the true inspirer and driving force of our struggle, who fell in the national liberation struggle. May his example of heroism and sacrifice be a source of inspiration and encouragement to enable us to fulfil the new tasks. At a time when the city of Lourenço Marques, and with it the whole of Mozambique, is in mourning because of a fascist adventure, let us be able to transform our sorrow into new strength to galvanise us to continue on the road of building independence, freedom and democracy in our country.

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World Solidarity

If the destruction of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique was brought about primarily by sacrifice and efforts of the Mozambican people, it is nevertheless important to emphasise at this time the great contribution united Africa made to this victory, which is the common victory of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and of the entire African liberation movement.

We therefore wish to hail the representatives of the Organisation of African Unity who are here to show by their presence their consistent solidarity with our struggle. We particularly wish to hail the representatives of Tanzania and Zambia, great brother peoples who, with heroism and determination were able to assume the role of strategic rear and therefore made our victory possible. Here we honour the memory of the Tanzanian and Zambian brothers who fell victim to colonialist aggression, consolidating through their sacrifices, friendship and solidarity which, forged in the hard years of war, will be strengthened and consolidated in peace. Through them we send our greetings to our brothers in all countries bordering on the fighting territories, in Guinea, Senegal, the People's Republic of the Congo, and Zaire.

We salute the valuable and decisive contribution made by the generous political, moral and material help given to us by the socialist countries in the highest internationalist spirit.

Through the Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations, we greet the United Nations Organisation and the international community in general, whose growing moral, diplomatic and material support was a powerful factor in encouraging our struggle and isolating the colonial-fascist regime.

We wish to hail especially the support given by the democratic forces throughout the world, by progressive international organisations and revolutionary and anti-colonialist forces in western countries.

In conclusion, we wish to greet the Portuguese people, through the Portuguese democratic forces with whom we forged bonds of militant fraternity during the difficult years of common struggle, bonds which, more than the written words of treaties, are the guarantee of our future friendship and co-operation.

As we engage in this new struggle, we call upon our entire people to remain united, firm and vigilant under the banner of FRELIMO embarking with enthusiasm, discipline and hard work on the building of a free, developed and democratic Mozambique, under the watchwords: UNITY, WORK, VIGILANCE.

Trends in Youth Culture: Reply to the Discussion

Martin Jacques

In this reply to the discussion, I want to concentrate on what seem to me to have been the five major areas of controversy and difference in the debate.

1. THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE AND ITS IMPORTANCE

The first question I want to consider concerns the whole concept of culture. Our point of departure here is the Marxist conception of society and, in particular, Marx's "Preface" which he wrote in 1859.[1] In it, Marx spells out what are, for us in this context, two critical propositions: firstly the primacy of the economic level or base and secondly the limited but nevertheless real autonomy of the ideological and political levels or superstructures. Related to this, Marx argues elsewhere that, in general, the class which is dominant in the economic sphere will also be dominant in both the political sphere, that is it will hold state-power, and the ideological sphere, that is its ideas will be the ascendant ones. That is, class power in society is not solely exercised in the economic sphere, but is also fought for and wielded in the political and ideological spheres as well.

The precise relationship between dominance in the economic, political and ideological spheres varies from one mode of society to another. Here we are concerned with the advanced bourgeois

[1] "Preface to Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, 1968, pp. 181-5.

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democracies like Britain. What is the precise *modus operandi* of bourgeois power in such societies? The bourgeoisie, of course, enjoys economic dominance over the working class through its ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and exchange and ultimately perpetuates its political dominance through its control of the state-apparatus. But, characteristically, the bourgeoisie, for the most part, maintains both its economic and political dominance through consent rather than coercion, that is as a result of an acceptance of this state of affairs by the majority of the people (and, in Britain, that must mean the vast majority of the working class) as the "natural order of things".

How is this "consent" of "acceptance" secured?—essentially through the supremacy or, as Gramsci put it, the "hegemony"[2], of the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural spheres. The nature of the latter should now perhaps be spelt out more clearly: by ideology here I mean basically ideology in the relatively narrow sense, namely in terms of ideas and systems of ideas; and by culture, the general system of practices, meanings and values[3]. In Britain, thus, bourgeois hegemony is exercised in relation to both the ideological and cultural spheres and it is this hegemony which enables the bourgeoisie to rule by consent rather than by open and continuous coercion.

"Consent" through Hegemony

What are the implications of this? Firstly, the position of the bourgeoisie rests not only on its economic and political power but also on its ideological and cultural strength[4], which are not simply dependent functions of the bourgeoisie's economic position but have a reality, specificity and autonomy of their own[5]. Secondly, it follows that the challenge to bourgeois power rests not only on struggle in the economic or even the economic and political spheres but also on struggle in the ideological and cultural spheres. Indeed, as Paul Fauvet[6] and Judy Bloomfield [7] correctly pointed out in their contributions, class oppression is essentially multi-faceted and therefore the struggle of the working class (and its allies) must be similarly multi-dimensional.

Yet John Boyd, by stating that "there has been no revolt against matters of real concern to young people"[8] and then referring to the question of youth unemployment, implicitly argues that the only matters of real concern to young people are economic[9].

This seems to me to be both a sectarian (i.e. "matters of real concern" are defined *solely* by what John Boyd feels is important and not at all by what young people regard as important) and economistic (i.e. the class struggle is defined in largely economic terms) approach.

At the same time Brian Filling, by basically rejecting any conception of culture (i.e. rejecting the notion of youth culture and introducing the concept of "cultural radicalism" which is then branded as petty-bourgeois and more or less dismissed)[10], and Albert Mills, by rejecting the notion of "cultural work"[11], both adopt a highly simplistic and truncated version of class society, class oppression and thus also class struggle.

2. FROM REBELLION TO INCORPORATION OR REVOLUTION?

For Marxists, thus, the cultural and ideological spheres are crucial areas of struggle. And what flows directly from this is the proposition that the various institutions within these spheres, namely the school, the university, the family, sport, music, sex-roles, the media etc, and the ideas that surround them are in themselves important areas of class conflict. That is, the struggles that develop around, for example, the role, content and organisation of education, the oppression of women and the commercialisation of the arts, the disenchantment with and opposition to the dominant (i.e. bourgeois) cultural practice that these represent, are an expression (however primitive and inarticulate) of class conflict.

In this context, I want to emphasise two particular points. Firstly, just as economic conflict is an inevitable product of capitalist society so too is ideological and cultural conflict: they are but other (and, in the advanced capitalist countries, increasingly important) expressions of the basic conflict between the two major classes.

Secondly, it is only to be expected that the consciousness of the majority of the participants in such struggles will, in the first instance, be very limited: it is unlikely, for example, that most will

[2] A. Gramsci, "Selections from the Prison Notebooks" 1971, notably Pt III, Section 2.

[3] Raymond Williams "Base and Superstructure", *New Left Review*, 82.

[4] In this context, the conception of the ruling class contained in this quote from John Green's contribution is clearly incorrect. ". . . the ruling class as such, i.e. the financial powers"; *MTD*, November 1974, p. 350.

[5] An important theoretical debate is of course taking place on this whole question. For example, L. Althusser, "For Marx", 1969, Ch. 3.

[6] *MTD*, February, 1975, p. 61.

[7] *MTD*, March, 1975, p. 94.

[8] *MTD*, December, 1973, p. 375.

[9] Albert Mills tends towards a similar position, *MTD*, December 1974, p. 380.

[10] *MTD*, September, 1974, pp. 284-6.

[11] *MTD*, December, 1974, p. 380.

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see it as a class conflict, or indeed, that it will be consciously expressed as such.

Let us be more concrete. What we are discussing in the case of the cultural rebellions of the sixties, for example, are the first signs of disenchantment with and opposition to the dominant (i.e. bourgeois) cultural practice amongst sections (i.e. students, school students, young industrial workers, young white-collar workers) moving into struggle for, in the main, the first time. Such opposition is bound to be partial and limited in its formative stages. It will *inevitably* bear many of the marks of the dominant (bourgeois) ideology and therefore of individualism in particular. In this context, the ideologies of such movements must be seen, as Nick Kettle indicated in his contribution[12], as containing both positive and negative features, neither of which must be ignored or neglected, and seen as essentially dynamic rather than static entities, in which both the positive and negative elements are subject to a continuous process of change (and ultimately growth or decline).

The Conspiracy Theory

On this basis, I want to deal with three particular arguments that have been put forward in the discussion. The first is the straightforward conspiracy theory of causation, namely that the "youth rebellion" of the sixties was deliberately fostered by the bourgeoisie in a conscious attempt to divert, distract and isolate young people from the class struggle.

John Boyd, for example, argues: ". . . I hope to have shown that neither the 'massive youth revolt' nor the 'cross-fertilisation of ideas' exist but are in fact imposed by the ruling class and its mass media; imposed in order to create divisions between youth and its elders and above all to alienate young people from their working-class roots"[13].

The second is slightly more sophisticated but, in the final analysis, is of a broadly similar character, namely that the "youth rebellion" was *in the main*, "handed-down" by the bourgeoisie (and, as a consequence, of such relative superficiality that it was easily absorbed and integrated by the latter).

John Green, for example, in the context of the musical phenomenon (Dylan, Baez, Beatles etc.) argues that "the medium does start becoming the message" [14] (and, to emphasise the superficiality of the revolt, that "on examination one can see that the symbols of rebellion yesterday are by and large, the norms of today"[15]). Similarly, Albert Mills, in effect, argues a rather similar position[16]. For the third argument I quote Brian Filling: "Capitalism, by its very nature engenders a petty-bourgeois ideology and outlook"[17] and ". . . the creators and perpetrators of cultural radicalism (or "youth culture") then, are not the ruling class in a conspiratorial fashion. It is the capitalist system, as a system, which produces petty-bourgeois ideas and values".[18]

Capitalist Stability Overestimated

All these arguments contain two serious errors. Firstly, they completely *underestimate* the extent to which the very process of development of capitalism continuously generates and produces conflict and struggle. They, in short, attribute to the bourgeoisie a power of control over the system which in reality is only to be found in the former's most optimistic dreams.[19] And, as a consequence, such arguments also greatly *overestimate* the stability of the system.

In this context, I want to say something more about Brian Filling's argument. This seems to me to be based on a completely inappropriate transplantation of a quote from Lenin.[20] In it, Lenin refers to the strength of small-scale production and hence petty-bourgeois ideas and aspirations in the USSR and the problems these posed for the working class after the October Revolution. Absolutely correct. But why then should an historically concrete statement like this be crudely applied to a completely different society, some fifty odd years later, which is characterised by a far more highly-developed capitalist mode of production? What are the similarities, above all where are the peasants?

Rebellion in Capitalist Society

The second major error committed by the three arguments outlined above is either their failure to recognise the positive aspects of the various movements or at least their tendency to relegate them to a relatively secondary and unimportant position in relation to the negative aspects (and thus more or less dismiss the movements as a consequence). As I have already suggested, this is based on a failure to grasp the nature and dynamic of movements of rebellion in a capitalist society.

Of course, in arguing along these lines I am not denying the fact that such revolts may well become absorbed and integrated by the bourgeoisie. But there is not just one possibility, there are *two*: *either* the revolt can move in the direction of a more

[12] *MTD*, July, 1974, p. 214.
[13] *MTD*, December, 1973, p. 377.
[14] *MTD*, November, 1974, p. 351.
[15] *MTD*, November, 1974, p. 350.
[16] *MTD*, December, 1974, pp. 380-1.
[17] *MTD*, September, 1974, p. 284.
[18] *MTD*, September, 1974, p. 285.
[19] As, indeed, Maurice Costin indicates in his contribution, *MTD*, December, 1974, p. 378.
[20] Namely from Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder" and given in *MTD*, September, 1974, p. 284.

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generalised consciousness which sees the causes of that dissatisfaction and disaffection in terms of the nature of class society *or* towards a purely sectional, partial and containable view of the issue which sees it as having no connection with the more general nature of society, that is towards incorporation.

Which direction will be taken depends, of course, upon a whole complex of factors including the general degree of crisis in society as a whole, the consciousness and activity of the working class, the size and influence of the Communist Party, the causes of the particular struggle in question, the consciousness of those involved etc. Certainly the bourgeoisie will attempt to absorb and integrate such cultural struggles. And, in general, such incorporative pressures take one or more of the following forms: commercialism, direct repression, ideological influence.

This was indeed the case in the sixties: there was, for example, the exploitation of the new developments in music for narrowly commercial ends (with, for instance, the consequent tendency for participation to be transformed into consumption), the direct repression of OZ and the role of the police in the March 1968 Vietnam demonstration and, finally, the ideological response which accompanied all such ongoing developments and which sought to limit the degree of opposition involved and make it acceptable to and containable within the dominant cultural and ideological practice.

Equally, however, such revolts can move in the other direction, towards a more generalised opposition based on a more universal understanding of their causes. Here the role of the party is critical. Its intervention can be decisive in ensuring that the positive aspects of the revolt ultimately prove to be the decisive ones in its development. But in order to make such an intervention, the party must be involved in these struggles so that it is able to understand and fully appreciate their nature and significance, able to distinguish the positive aspects from the negative and, not least, able to win a sympathetic hearing from the activists involved.

Serious Political Implications

In this context, it is clear that the three arguments I outlined earlier have serious political implications. A concentration on the negative aspects of these movements to the more or less complete exclusion of their positive elements results in their dismissal as nothing more than petty-bourgeois distractions. But the effect of this position, if it is translated into practice, is effectively to deny these movements the possibility of being influenced by and learning from the party and consequently to expose them exclusively to the incorporationist pressure of the bourgeoisie. That is, the analysis could, in practice, become self-fulfilling.

I have attempted to outline, in schematic fashion, the essential framework within which the question of cultural struggle must be located. That is: such struggles are an important part of the class struggle: such struggles are an inevitable product of capitalist society and its development: such struggles will inevitably start as rebellions with a partial rather than universal consciousness: and, finally, the direction such struggles will take depends upon three factors, namely the general complex of questions I mentioned above, the bourgeoisie's ability to incorporate and the party (and the left's) ability to infuse them with a longer-term perspective and a wider consciousness.

It is within this framework that we must view the cultural and ideological revolt of important sections of youth in the sixties. It was, indeed, a response to the multifarious contradictions of capitalism and it was of a most complex character, being expressed in many different forms all of which contained both positive (e.g. anti-authoritarianism, anti-sexism, internationalism) and negative (e.g. individualism, utopianism) features.

Moreover, the bourgeoisie did, as indicated above, make every effort to incorporate these developments within the dominant cultural and ideological practice. And, in attempting to do this, they did achieve some measure of success, especially in relation to those expressions of rebellion which were relatively inarticulate, spontaneous and limited like the music.

However, the incorporationist operation was by no means completely successful: as confirmation of this, for example, we can point to the development of the student movement, the women's movement and the consolidation of important alternative cultural forms like street theatre. And here the role of the party and the left has been of great importance —their intervention has served to strengthen the more positive aspects contained in the initial rebellions of the sixties.

3. THE CONCEPT OF CLASS CULTURE

I want, at this point, to return to the question of the nature of culture. It follows from the proposition that culture itself is the site of class struggle that there is no such thing as one national culture. In this context, I would argue that it is possible to speak, in a country like Britain, of two cultures—that of the bourgeoisie and that of the working class.

But we need to be *cautious*. In suggesting that the bourgeoisie is hegemonic in the cultural and ideological spheres, it is evident that the concept of two cultures cannot be interpreted in such a way as to suggest two completely separate, distinct and equally "systematic" cultures. Rather, there is a central and dominant culture, that of the bourgeoisie, and another, that of the working class, which is partially

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autonomous but which, in its overall complexion, is "dominated", that is it is impregnated with bourgois ideas, values, meanings and practices. The separation of the two rests on the different conditions of existence of the two classes (whence, for example, the individualist ethos of the bourgeoisie as opposed to the collectivist ethos of the working class) while the dependence and subordinance of working class culture is a function of its situation as a dominated and oppressed class in capitalist society.

Thus, working class culture in Britain cannot be considered as one monolithic and somehow "unadulterated" whole. Indeed, as Imtiaz Chounara showed in his contribution, much working class culture is imbued with elements of sexism, racialism and escapism[21]. Rather, working class culture consists of many different elements depending upon the consciousness and awareness of different sections, something that will, in turn, vary from one historical moment to another[22].

In their contributions to the discussion, however, two comrades implied that working class culture is somehow, *per se*, all right. John Green, for example, argued that ". . . we must also actively promote working class culture"[23] and Brian Filling that ". . . it is crucial not to obscure the class character of culture and morals and the existence within capitalist society's culture and morals of two opposing class cultures and two opposing sets of class morals"[24].

In doing this, both tend to ignore the variegated character of working class culture and fail to recognise, therefore, at a theoretical level, the nature and meaning of bourgeois hegemony. In this context, the term "class consciousness"[25], which Brian Filling uses, is itself misleading because it suggests an evenness and totality of consciousness which is not the case—rather, we should speak, for example, of degrees or levels of class consciousness.

4. THE CONCEPT OF YOUTH CULTURE

I now want to turn to the concept of youth culture. Firstly, the question of youth. It has never been suggested at any time by anyone in this discussion that youth comprises a separate class, such would be obvious nonsense: rather, it has been argued that youth does have special characteristics which make it distinct from older generations. These characteristics, as I argued in the original opening, are essentially a product of the fact that each new generation emerges and is formed in a different set of historical conditions: and, with regard to the youth of the sixties, this meant a distinctive social composition, a particular ideological framework and a greater social weight (i.e. in quantitative terms).

From this it follows that, firstly, within each class or fraction of a class, the youth element possesses particular and distinctive characteristics in relation to the class as a whole and, secondly, youth in general shares certain similar overall characteristics[26].

On this basis, I think it is perfectly valid to speak of a youth culture: but it must be said that youth culture is not a monolithic whole, rather it is itself divided into different subcultures such that it is more appropriate in many ways to speak of youth cultures. In this context, my argument in the original opening was that, for various special reasons (i.e. historically *specific* ones like the relative inactivity of the working class, the particular characteristics of the sixties youth generation etc), youth culture did display an unusual and essentially temporary homogeneity between 1963 and 1967 which, after that and indeed ever since, has again splintered very visibly into a diversity of youth cultures (which have certain common characteristics but which also have some very marked differences).

Two points here. Firstly, Denver Walker suggests that what we are talking about is not "youth culture" but "pop culture"[27] while Brian Filling similarly expresses scepticism about the concept and prefers the term "cultural radicalism"[28]. Secondly, Brian Filling in effect argues that "cultural radicalism" (i.e. his term for youth culture) has declined and is almost but not quite dead[29].

[21] *MTD*, October, 1974, p. 318.

[22] This is obviously a question that needs a lot more discussion. In this context, for example: F. Parkin, "Class Inequality and Political Order" (esp. Ch. 3); also J. Clarke and T. Jefferson, "Working Class Youth Cultures", November, 1973, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Birmingham University).

[23] *MTD*, November, 1974, p. 351.

[24] *MTD*, September, 1974, pp. 285-6.

[25] *MTD*, September, 1974, p. 286.

[26] In this context, a quote from the representative of the Hungarian Communist Party, Tibor Halay, at an international conference on youth organised by *World Marxist Review* is interesting: "We, in Hungary, in treating, say, the concept of 'young workers', proceed from the fact that they are linked with the working class by a number of fundamental characteristics which have developed primarily on the basis of their relationship to the means of production. However, we must put this category of young people in yet another set of coordinates; by considering it as part of the whole of youth. It is apparently right to describe young workers as a part of the working class but one that has its own age characteristics, typical of all young people, relatively independent interests, and manifestations of social consciousness which form part of the younger generation's subculture"; *World Marxist Review*, August 1974, p. 18.

[27] *MTD*, July, 1974, p. 215.

[28] *MTD*, September, 1974, p. 284. Similarly Albert Mills refers to the "(mythical) youth culture phenomenon"; *MTD*, December, 1974, p. 379.

[29] *MTD*, September, 1974, pp. 284-6.

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Both of these arguments completely misunderstand the nature of youth culture by, on the one hand, failing to grasp the essential disctinctness of "youth" and by, on the other hand, treating "culture" as something narrowly ideological in character, such that the concept of "youth culture" is reduced (as with some bourgeois sociologists) to nothing more than a transient ideological fashion.

Moreover, in using the term "pop", Denver Walker, by resorting to a linguistic twist, not only attempts to further emphasise the concept of transience but also seeks to emphasise its handed-down, incorporative, and manipulated character such as to present a wholly one-sided view of causation. Such conceptions of youth culture are not only incorrect from a theoretical point of view but also, if applied in practice, would seriously limit the nature of and need for *autonomous* youth activity by the party and the YCL.

5. THE CLASS NATURE OF THE "YOUTH REBELLION" OF THE SIXTIES

This brings me to the last point of difference that I want to discuss. A number of comrades have suggested that the youth rebellion of the sixties was, by and large, an essentially petty-bourgeois phenomenon and therefore basically at best a distraction and at worst a positive danger, indeed menace. Brian Filling, for example, writes: "one of our tasks as Communists must be to finish off the remains of petty-bourgeois cultural radicalism" (i.e. his youth culture)[30]. I want to contest this line of argument on two main grounds: firstly in relation to the ideologies of the protest movements and secondly in relation to their social composition.

Positive and Negative Elements

Firstly, it is obviously the case that the ideologies of these movements did embody an important thread of petty-bourgeois individualism. But from that it would be wrong to conclude that this was their sole or even necessarily their predominant component (though it sometimes was). The ideologies of the movements and their participants of course varied but in virtually all cases they were of an essentially hybrid character. Thus, for example, much of the "underground" on the one hand extolled individualism (in the form, for example, of utopian-anarchism) and on the other hand rejected elitism and commercialism (even though, as we have seen, the underground movement itself became subject to commercial exploitation).

That is, the ideologies of rebellion contained both positive and negative elements (in varying proportions). But this is what we would expect. All rebellions are, in the first instance, partial and limited and evolve within the context of the hegemony of the ruling ideology: they therefore, as I have already argued, inevitably bear the marks of individualism because of the character of the dominant ideology from which they are beginning to break. Even if, therefore, we conclude that petty-bourgeois individualism was the main component of some of the protest movements of the sixties, this is still no reason either for ignoring their essentially positive elements or for dismissing the movements as a whole as distractions from the class struggle.[31]

Social Composition?

Secondly, what of their social composition? Here, again, the term petty-bourgeois can be dangerously misleading. Certainly students were an important element in the youth rebellion, especially in the more explicitly political expressions of it, and it is true that students were (and to a lesser extent still are), as I suggested in my original article, prone to individualistic ideas and notions: but it would be wrong firstly to characterise students as petty-bourgeois (it is much more complicated than that) and secondly incorrect to suggest that students

[30] *MTD*, September, 1974, p. 286.

[31] In this context, Tom Bell, in his contribution, makes the useful analogy between cultural work and our attitude towards economic struggles; *MTD*, January, 1975, p. 23.

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comprised the only element in the youth rebellion.

On the contrary, it is evident that large sections of manual and white-collar working class youth were involved, in one way or another, in the movements and the events of the sixties (especially in the musical phenomenon of 1963-7, to a lesser extent in the underground etc.).

In two respects, therefore, it is likely that movements such as those which engaged important sections of young people in the sixties will display petty-bourgeois features: firstly in terms of ideology because of their essentially embryonic, partial and ill-developed character on the one hand and the hegemony of bourgeois ideology on the other; secondly because any social stratum which moves into action more or less for the first time will, by the conditions of its own social existence (lack of collective organisation etc.), display individualistic tendencies.

But neither of these constitute reasons for ignoring or dismissing such movements. On the contrary, as Jim Cornelius suggests in his contribution,[32] they are arguments for why we should display the greatest interest in such developments and why we should, where possible, participate in them on the basis of firmness coupled with patience.

One final point. In evaluating the importance of these various movements, we should not confine ourselves to examining them "in their own right" in isolation from, for example, the working-class movement. Indeed, it is clear, for example, that the student movement has had a very positive impact on the labour movement by further sensitising the latter, through its contacts with and knowledge of the student movement, to the class nature of the educational system, and therefore, by enriching its awareness of the multi-dimensional character of class oppression.

And the same, indeed, can be said of the women's movement, whose roots again lie in the sixties developments. In this context, we must reject the kind of siege sentiments and wholly one-sided approach to be found in the following quote from Brian Filling's contribution: ". . . capitalism, by its very nature as a system will encourage petty-bourgeois radicalism (or 'youth culture'), thus weakening working-class consciousness by the infiltration and reinforcement of capitalist ideas in the labour movement". [33] The various movements of the sixties, on the contrary, have, on balance, greatly enriched the struggle and awareness of the working class movement in Britain.

6. AREAS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION

Before concluding I want briefly to take up a number of suggestions for further research which were made during the course of the discussion. John Green, for instance, indicated the need for both more specific analyses of the role of commercialism in cultural developments and a more precise description of and investigation into the different forms of and regional variations in youth protest.[34]. While Imtiaz Chounara made some very interesting points in relation to immigrant youth[35] which could usefully be elaborated upon.

With our basic framework of approach established, however, there, in general, needs to be much more work on, firstly, the precise physiognomy of contemporary youth culture,[36] secondly, the positive and negative features of its various forms and expressions and, thirdly, the nature and concept of culture.

[32] *MTD*, September, 1974, p. 283.
[33] *MTD*, September, 1974, p. 286.
[34] *MTD*, November, 1974, p. 350.
[35] *MTD*, October, 1974, p. 318.
[36] There has, for example, been far too little discussion on *seventies* as opposed to sixties developments.

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Discussion Contributions on:

Health Care and the Medical Profession

Julian Tudor Hart

(Julian Tudor Hart is a general practitioner in a mining village in South Wales. He is well known for research on high blood pressure and bowel cancer.)

Steve Iliffe's paper on the situation in medical care is a sound and balanced analysis, and should be a starting point for more detailed studies of some of its main themes, so that we can elaborate an entire alternative medical ideology. That is an ambitious aim, but I am convinced it is one we can realise, and must realise very soon, if we are not to miss the remarkable opportunities of this dangerous moment in history. Main themes that must be taken up (and, hopefully, consolidated this summer at the first Communist Medical Faculty, planned for this year's Communist University) include the economic demands of medical and non-medical staffs, their trade union organisation, the democratisation of local health services and of medical schools, and the development of health demands as a normal and important part of the demands of trade unions for all workers, for the conservation of health and the prevention of accidents and disease.

It is eleven years since Communist Party health workers met nationally, during which time health workers have come for the first time into mass action not only on their own economic demands, but for the first serious measures of redistribution of power in the National Health Service in a democratic direction; for the first time, a really substantial number of medical students and young doctors has rejected the traditional servile relation with the ruling class; and as its state machine moves in to seize a dominant share in determining what is a good doctor, and what is good medical care (hitherto the private property of the teaching hospital consultants) the ideological initiative is slipping out of the hands of both—they are incapable of sustaining even their own hypocrisies.

It is this last theme that I want to elaborate, particularly in relation to general practitioners. What is the classical medical ideology? It was devised at the turn of the century, to ensure the position of the centre of the profession, the teaching-hospital consultants, Harley Street, the general practitioners of the rich, by creating all other doctors in their image. A real doctor was a fee-earning entrepreneur of sturdy independence, of liberal and classical education, the fellow of his wealthy patients, the stern but just father of the poor; the transaction between himself and the sick person was the whole world to him, and he did not meddle much outside it; he pursued clinical perfection, and therefore the rare circumstances in which perfection was possible, namely, a consultant post in a London teaching hospital. And in essence, that remains the core of our medical ideology, modified by events of course, but as central to our ideas of what a doctor is, as Manchester School economics are to the City of London.

The Ideal Conception—and Reality

Even at its birth, this ideal conception of a good doctor bore little relation to what was really happening to most doctors, but then they could by this yardstick be regarded as incompletely successful, not altogether doctors; at the bottom of the heap you needed some reassurance that you were really a doctor at all. Shaw did not exaggerate in 1906:

> "When you are so poor that you cannot afford to refuse eighteenpence from a man who is too poor to pay you any more, it is useless to tell him that what he or his sick child needs is not medicine, but more leisure, better clothes, better food, and a better drained or better ventilated house. It is kinder to give him a bottle of something almost as cheap as water, and tell him to come again with another eighteenpence if it does not cure him.... The only way in which (the doctor) can preserve his self-respect is by forgetting all he ever learnt of science, and clinging to such help as he can give without cost merely

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> by being less ignorant and more accustomed to sick-beds than his patients. Finally, he acquires a certain skill at nursing cases under poverty-stricken domestic conditions, just as women who have been trained as domestic servants in some huge institution with lifts, vacuum cleaners, electric lighting, steam heating... manage, when they are sent out into the world to drudge as general servants, to pick up their business in a new way, learning the slatternly habits and wretched makeshifts of homes where even bundles of kindling wood are luxuries to be anxiously economised."

By the classical ideology, such doctors—and they were very, very many, *poor* doctors (which the NHS has made extinct)—remained in that single brotherhood, though their circumstances made good clinical work impossible; small shopkeepers, perfunctory men giving perfunctory care, an unbelievably rapid flow of petty transactions, pennyworths of skill at two-minute intervals; that was industrial practice, and to a terrifying extent, still is.

From the beginning, then, this ideology was appropriate to the rich doctors of the rich, and inappropriate to the poor doctors of the poor. Both in the fight against the Lloyd George Insurance Act in 1912, and against the NHS in 1948 (both of which enriched the immense majority of GPs), the BMA was able to lead virtually the whole profession under the banner of that minority of doctors whose incomes came mainly from private fees: the trick rested on three foundations.

The Three Foundations

In the first place, most doctors had two sources of income, and however small the share of private fees, it was in this area that they could respect themselves as doctors and stop being vets. Nearly all hoped to expand their own private sector, and give up the cheap and nasty insurance work. That ended in 1948: private patients are a negligible and still diminishing particle of NHS general practice. The expansion of private practice is entirely in the hospital sector: so one foundation is gone.

Secondly, governments deliberately prolonged an illusory independence for GPs, the "independent contractor status", because it was cheaper to pay doctors well, leaving them to provide squalid and ill-equipped premises from their own pockets, and leave a public service in private hands, corruptly administered without the public control that must lead to higher standards and higher costs. The doctors were meaner than any government could have been. The NHS put no serious investment into general practice until 1968, its whole emphasis was on the establishment of a specialist-staffed hospital service for all regions: and for long after 1948 the GPs remained almost wholly in the grip of the shopkeeper mentality, perfectly suited to their servile role in the established hierarchy of medicine.

By 1968 it was clear that a system in which all serious, high quality care took place in hospitals, served by badly equipped rat-hole surgeries in which doctors could make no effective use of their training, was an expensive and inefficient nonsense. Governments began for the first time to invest in group practice from health centres, and to encourage feelings of responsibility to local communities already latent in the British system of defined lists of patients, who keep to the same doctor through many years, in sickness and in health (the difference this makes can be fully appreciated only by talking to doctors from France, Germany, and the United States, whose perception of their patients is almost entirely confined to those spells of illness in which they choose to consult them, and no sense of mutual responsibility can develop). "Independent contractor status" in these conditions is becoming manifestly ridiculous, and the second foundation is crumbling: if you don't work in a shop, you eventually stop thinking like a shopkeeper.

Finally, medical care began to be a real influence on the outcome of illness. The ideology of doctoring was completed at a time when hardly any effective action could really be taken by doctors in the presence of illness, and all or nearly all the improvements in health depended not on doctors but on levels of real wages, food, housing and education. The little that doctors really could do, mainly in the way of preventive medicine, was actually obstructed by their ideology, with its emphasis on brief and dramatic intervention in episodes of gross disease, rather than prevention and anticipatory care with follow-up over many years. At an accelerated pace since the mid-1930s, doctors have been able to do real things, and it has become possible for both us and our patients to face up to the illusory nature of much that we did and still do. And just because we now do real things, we have become potentially more dangerous as well as more effective, since almost any drug powerful enough to cure can also kill (we have been slow to realise this because the first really effective drugs were also exceptionally safe, since they acted on bacteria and not on human beings: antibiotics were mostly safe and fairly effective however carelessly prescribed).

The pre-history of medicine is coming to an end, illusion can be discarded by patient and doctor alike, and the science of applied human

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biology can begin. We shall retain science where others betray or abandon it, and because of that we are going to win the new generation of serious thinkers in medicine. We must re-define what a doctor is, we must make a new medical ideology; and that can shatter the third and last foundation of the petty-bourgeois ideology of medicine.

Re-definition Necessary

The necessity for some such re-definition is now clear to all thoughtful people. The initial readiness to gulp down Ivan Illich's reactionary mysticism is a measure of the bankruptcy of the old ideology. At a time when medical science can intervene more effectively, over a wider range of illness, and with greater precision and more capacity for self-critical audit than ever before, Illich rediscovers what was always known and always said by progressive critics (that personal medical services have marginal effects on mortality, that salvage of the sick is inefficient and dangerous compared with prevention by general social improvements, and that doctors are almost exclusively preoccupied by episodes of disease rather than the preservation of health), adds his own bit on the positive aspects of disease and suffering, and invites us to abandon medical science as a futile meddling with God's universe. It is a philosophy well suited to the needs of a ruling class that finds universal high-quality medical care too expensive, and would like the ignorant masses to accept something plainer, simpler, cheaper, and (say Illich, A. L. Cochrane, Walter Holland, and other Establishment New Thinkers) no less effective, indeed perhaps all the better for cutting off the fat. Only the rich would continue to suffer from expensive scientific meddling. I exaggerate of course, and like most effective lies, there is some truth in it; but if medical science ever had a positive role, it has it now more than ever before; we have as yet very little precise knowledge about the primary prevention of most of the diseases that still kill and disable us prematurely, other than the large group of chronic lung diseases and accidents, so an *immediate* policy of emphasis on primary prevention means either big public campaigns on housing, wages, education and so on, in which all the New Thinkers are notably absent, or doing nothing at all, while encouraging a reduction of the number of acute hospital beds by half. Secondary prevention, by anticipatory care and early diagnosis, is, they tell us, "futile"[1]; in effect, they leave us only with that terminal salvage on which both patients and doctors will presumably still insist, but having robbed it of the urgency that it possessed in less critical times. Doctors are, in general, repelled by this philosophy, since it is an attack on the basis of their work; but they have no adequate reply.

Virtually every element of a doctor's work can be performed by ancillary health workers with suitable training, usually better than by a generic doctor without specific training, except for the innovating, leading function that is so widely discussed but so seldom seen. Do we even need doctors as a category? Social inertia being what it is, of course we shall go on having them; but if we can work out a positive answer to this, in convincing practical terms, we can seize the ideological initiative from the flabby hands that hold it now.

A New Image Needed

"We behave in ways which are acceptable to the image we have of ourselves."[2] We need a new image, a doctor defined and educated as *an innovator from the field of medical science, to the practical delivery of medical care and application of scientific prevention, in the real world whose life he shares;* a skilled leader, within a known and shared community, of a team of health workers, organising the whole community in war against disease, using the whole range of weapons available—primary prevention, anticipatory care, and salvage—in a planned campaign adapted to the needs, customs, understanding, circumstances and resources of that particular community; a health worker seeing the social and educational distance between himself and others as an obstacle rather than an asset. This re-definition must be made in specific terms across the whole field of medicine, not only for primary care, but re-asserting the possibilities of hospital care rooted in community needs, answerable to the people it serves, the natural centre for medical organisation (including primary care) in its catchment area, the main source for innovation at all levels.

We must use the evidence from all fields, but particularly from epidemiology and the social history of medicine, to place the component parts of medicine in an entirely new perspective, deriving from the needs of the sick population rather than the fancied and unstable social ambitions of doctors. This will represent an enormous task; of independent scholarship, and of practical work within the labour movement to get health recognised as a central issue, a means of getting beyond trade union consciousness to a political consciousness demanding the whole of life for all of the people, and of uniting intellectual and

[1] Holland, W.W. *Screening for Disease, Lancet,* 1975, *1,* 390.

[2] McCormick, J. *Motives in Medicine.* Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, 1975, *68,* 16.

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manual workers in a new and fruitful partnership. We are only beginning to get back to this road, so well pioneered by Alistair Wilson, Hugh Price, Hermann Grunwald, and others who sank firm roots into their community and forged durable links with the local labour movement.

If we do not do this, we shall continue to press essentially liberal demands for a just distribution of the medical care we have. So much of that system is irrelevant to real changes in the health of the population, that without such a totally new ideology we cannot stand up to the assault now being mounted, to cut services, leave more and more medical science unapplied and inaccessible, and push the clock back to a sentimentalised, second-rate general practitioner service without the necessary expansion of hospital services that must accompany their rationalisation. We can neither jump on to the Illich bandwagon of blind opposition to medical technology, nor deny the irrelevance, futility, and danger of such technology when it is used (as it now is) without serious planning, control, or even understanding on the part of those who prescribe it: we must cut a new path.

We now have the people to do that, and to transform the doctors, with their key ideological role among all other health workers, from a reserve of reaction and bigotry to vanguard fighters for a world fit for people to live in.

Inflation and Marxist Theory

Mike Prior

The discussion on inflation has, to date, proceeded in a rather unreal and slow-motion fashion, with separate articles, written independently, managing to give the impression of a collective misunderstanding of everyone else's points. Ron Bellamy's article is at least polemical, though in its several sidesteppings and irrelevancies, it succeeds only in magnifying confusion.

I would like at the outset to say that I regard the contribution by Pat Devine as being a clear and fundamentally correct statement of the origins of inflation. It contains political weaknesses and ambiguities which Bellamy exploits, arising from a failure to take certain conclusions seriously in their political dimensions. It also contains—and this is inevitable in an article of limited size—very little discussion of the micro-economic processes of price formation in specific industries. Again Bellamy exploits this, though with staggering irrelevancy to the main argument. However, Devine has produced the substantial arguments and I do not intend to repeat them in any detail.

The purpose of this note is to consider certain diverse points raised by Bellamy and then to expand certain of the political arguments implicit, though not developed, in Devine's work.

The argument to date has not proceeded at a level of detailed statistics; rather it has developed by using general and theoretical arguments with appeals to common observation and general economic and financial experience. This is unavoidable; the complexity of the economic and social relationships has defeated all attempts to construct any convincing econometric model of price movements whilst anything short of such a model quickly runs aground on the problems of sorting out the leads and lags which are crucial to understanding causal relations, and upon the difficulty of specifying those vital but slippery social variables such as "militancy" or "expectations". In addition a surprising volume of statistics, particularly monetary and international variables are simply not collected or published.

This absence does not, and should not, prevent the use of these variables in discussing the causes of inflation. Purton, Cobham and Bellamy have all made considerable play with the growth of Eurocurrencies. The fact that none of them can give any detailed statistical evidence about the volume of these funds, where they are held and the manner in which they enter national economies, should not discourage speculation about their effects. Similarly, although it is impossible to produce much other than the crudest econometric model of the links between wages and prices, this should not prevent general theoretical conclusions being drawn about their likely connection.

However, it is clear that the technical problems concerned with adequately proving any theoretical explanation, means that there are many pitfalls for the unwary and that it is very easy to mystify the whole subject. I suspect that

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many non-economists have already retired from the fray with just such a feeling of frustration and mystification.

We must therefore expect any theory of inflation to be backed by a variety of factual and statistical evidence, not all of it complete. What can be expected from such arguments? The answer can, I think, be given in the context of certain points that I want to make about Bellamy's article.

The Whole Situation

First, the arguments should be presented within a framework of what is currently known of the whole situation.

An important example of this is the way that Bellamy attacks the proposition that advanced capitalist states have suffered from "chronic" inflation since the war. I assume that Bellamy understands the usual meaning of the word "chronic", that is "lasting a long time; also recurring; . . . chronic suggests long duration or frequent recurrence and is used especially of diseases or habits that resist all efforts to eradicate them." (*Webster's Dictionary*). Now that appears to describe the inflationary situation since the war very well. Moreover it is quite misleading to suggest that the situation before 1945 in any way resembled this.

The 1970 OECD "Report on Inflation" provides a convenient coverage of postwar experience. A very condensed summary is given in Fig. 1 for the eight main OECD countries.

	USA	Canada	Japan	UK	France	Germany	Italy	Neth
% Inflation rate 1955-69	2.4	2.5	3.9	3.6	5.0	2.9	3.4	4.3

Fig. 1. Average Annual Inflation Rate 1955-69

	1959/60	61/62	63/64	65/66	67/68	69/70
Median Price Rise	2.1	3.3	4.5	4.5	3.5	5.0
Number of countries with peak price rise for the period 1959-70	0	2	3	4	1	7

Fig. 2. Summary of Price Record for 17 OECD countries

	1951	1961	1966	1972
Social Welfare	8.2	9.5	11.6	13.3
Defence	6.9	4.7	4.8	3.9

Fig. 3. Social Welfare and Defence Expenditures as % of GNP. (Source: Social Trends.)

The period used avoids both the Korean war-period inflation and the 1970-74 period which Bellamy regards as being abnormal. If included they would, of course, raise the average figures. The full data shows that of the eight countries only in Japan in 1958 and Italy in 1959 (just) were price decreases recorded. The detailed progress of inflation varies between countries, but there is some evidence of an inflationary burst in the mid-50s and a drop in the late 50s, and a good deal of evidence that there has been a steady acceleration of inflation throughout the 60s. Fig. 2 is reproduced from the OECD Report mentioned above.

Thus the description of post-war inflation as "chronic" seems very apt—indeed underneath his distortion, Bellamy really admits this. "For most of the post-war period, Marxists and others on the left have taken the view that full employment with small, if creeping, price increases was preferable to price stability plus unemployment." Exactly.

We can thus view the post-war period as one in which inflation has been an ever present condition, usually containable to acceptable limits but with a tendency to build up with time. The increase in pressure of the last two years is, of course in part explained by certain massive commodity price rises, but it is quite unhistorical to view those two years as other than the con-

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tinuation of a trend. Oil price increases may have finally broken the dam but the water has been rising for many years.

The pre-war experience was quite different. Viewed from 1958, the UN economist quoted by Bellamy could say that one period in US history showed a comparable period of price rises. The same could just about be said of Britain. There was, in fact, just one period in British history between 1680 and 1940 when prices rose continuously for more than a decade. The date today however is 1974 not 1958, and it is possible to state quite categorically that there has been no period of 34 years in which prices have risen continuously other than 1940-74.

As for Bellamy's quote from Machlup, it simply shows that inflation rates have, over the total post-war period, been small but positive in all countries and have tended to accelerate over the last decade. Which is about right but not what Bellamy is trying to prove.

So much for not giving the full picture. Another demand we might make of factual and statistical arguments is that they be relevant. The central part of Bellamy's article is devoted to comments on academic theories of price formation in capitalist enterprises. The object of this seems to be to show that (1) British Leyland buys in a lot of components. (2) The fixing of particular prices in particular markets is complicated. (3) Some prices of particular goods dropped between 1957 and 1966. These included paper pulp, petroleum and chemicals.

This may add something to human knowledge but it is not clear what it has to do with the overall determinants of an aggregate inflation which *is* occuring and which *is* getting worse. It is always possible to find goods which buck the inflationary trend. Airline prices in the 60s, pocket calculators over the past couple of years are recent examples. So what? Bellamy could write, if he desired, a paper on the detailed mechanics of price formation in the petroleum industry. This might help to throw light on inflationary mechanisms. But it is a complete red-herring to argue against aggregate conclusions simply on the grounds that the world is complex, and to make no analysis other than repeated examples of that complexity. And it is a little bare-faced to then jump to explanations of inflation which are not only totally aggregate, but which take up all of 13 lines and which contain nothing but generalities.

I am quite sure that no one in this debate doubts that a variety of factors intervene in the actual fixing of prices. Competitive forces, technological change, raw material costs and so on. The point being made is that labour costs are one important—and sometimes decisive—factor and that these costs have exerted a steady upward pressure. The fact that this pressure occurs at the micro level is one important reason why inflation is so difficult to control by national policies. Nothing Bellamy says about the price mechanism has any relevance to this central fact.

Factually Incorrect

Finally we might ask that the facts be true. Bellamy says "It is not difficult to show that the ratio of social services to the GNP is not much greater than pre-war." This following a long section about the growing burden of arms expenditure and the fraudulent nature of the social services.

A bare statement of the changes in arms expenditure and social welfare is given in Fig. 3. The figures are derived from the National Income Accounts.

Bellamy's statements are simply wrong. Wrong in the aggregate and wrong in detail. I would suggest that anyone who doubts this should go to their nearest public library and look at the relevant figures in detail. They are quite accessible and easy to understand.

It may be that Bellamy thinks that pushing this obscure version of the thesis of the progressive impoverishment of the working class aids socialist agitation. It doesn't. Ultimately it breeds confusion and mistrust, for whereas socialists tend to believe their own rhetoric, the working class, unfortunately, doesn't. Bellamy also manages to belittle one of the greatest achievements of the organised working class; to extract from the capitalist state a greater provision for their social welfare. To deny that achievement not only spreads confusion but appears to deny the possibility of any reformist victories under capitalism; a position that rather curiously Bellamy tries to palm off on to Bill Warren.

Given that the factual basis of Bellamy's paper is either distorted, irrelevant or wrong, what are we left with?

First, an explanation of post-war stability based upon the "permanent arms economy" theory of the International Socialists[1]. Discussion of this lies outside the scope of a debate about inflation. Those interested should read an effective demolition by Dave Purdy in the Spring, 1973, Bulletin of the Conference of Socialist Economists.

[1] This does not, of course, characterise Bellamy as "ultra-left", rather it illustrates the fact that the greatest gap in British Marxism is not between "ultra-leftism" and reformism, but between realism and dreamland.

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Monetarist Theories

Second we have an abbreviated form of the monetarist theories of inflation advanced by Cobham, consisting of an assertion that three factors are important (Eurocurrencies, breakdown of international monetary arrangements, commodity prices) and the breezy statement that Bellamy does "not find it difficult to understand why the combination of these three factors has produced a sharp upsurge in prices on a world scale."

I have already discussed the fact that the "abnormal" inflation of the past two years is nothing of the kind and represents simply a continuation and deepening of an inflationary pressure which had been endemic in Western capitalism since the war. Bellamy's wrong emphasis makes it all the more clear that the monetarist theory is quite incapable of explaining this long-term pressure. After all, if he could have invented a theory to explain the facts, presumably he would have presented that, rather than go to the trouble of inventing not only theory but reality.

But even within the short-term framework Bellamy is concerned with, one might have expected rather more. Particularly one might have expected some mention of the mechanisms whereby the monetary effects Bellamy refers to, actually do cause inflation.

The effect of commodity prices can be accepted; undoubtedly these had a key role to play in raising the pace of inflation in 1973. But just as clearly, they can have had little effect in the 60s, when by and large commodity prices were stagnant.

The Eurocurrencies

The second factor is the growth of Eurocurrencies particularly Eurodollars. This area is the one where the greatest clarity is needed and it is the one where the monetarists become their most obscure. I think it is probably true that the growth of the Eurodollar market has played its part in the inflationary spiral, not in a primary role but by making the problem of monetary control within the nation state that much more difficult. But it is difficult to believe that Bellamy, who in one extraordinary passage reveals that he regards the provision of credit as being the same as commodity production, with the "finance industry" being subject to problems of overproduction just like the chemical industry, really understands the processes of international finance.

It would be interesting to find out, for example, how Bellamy would explain the fact that in 1973, when the alleged inflationary pressures of the Eurodollar market were mounting, the largest single borrower of Eurodollar funds was Algeria taking perhaps 10 per cent of the entire increase in funds to finance natural gas development. Presumably this should mean that in 1973, Algeria was under the greatest inflationary pressure from Eurodollars. Or alternatively the fact that in the late 60s the dominant borrowers in the Eurodollar markets were the socialist countries. Or why is it that the Eurodollar mechanism produced such abnormal inflation in the last two or three years sometime after the principal source of external dollars, the US payments deficit was reduced to quite manageable proportions.[2] The questions really do mount up and Bellamy and the other monetarists really should make some attempt to answer them.

Breakdown of Post-war Monetary Arrangements?

Thirdly the "breakdown of the whole post-war monetary arrangements in August 1971". Again the attention paid to providing any clear inflationary mechanism is so slight that one is reduced to simply putting forward unanswered questions. Has the collapse been quite so total as Bellamy seems to feel? Certainly the international banking mechanism is shaking under the stress of re-cycling petroleum money, but given the size of the problem, it would be difficult to point to any sizable collapse. Or is the breakdown simply in the system of fixed exchange rate? In which case, it would be interesting to hear why floating exchange rates bring about inflation. In any case, in a very general sense, it is not easy to see why the collapse of international "monetary arrangements" should bring about the vast and autonomous expansion of the money markets which Bellamy asserts actually occurred (without offering the slightest scrap of evidence). In the early 30s when the international money arrangements did collapse, it was accompanied by a huge contraction of loan finance and world trade[3], and by price falls. What is happening now that enables the total opposite of this to occur? For although the world may now be entering a trade recession, the past few years have seen a boom in world trade.

The overall feeling is of trying to criticise a shadow. As soon as one attempts to look closely at an argument it begins to dissolve into a series of unanswered queries and apparently contradictory results. Bluntly, for a professional economist

[2] That is before the oil price rises brought about a sharp deterioration, though now, of course, deficit dollars are mostly being handled not by the Eurodollar banks but are going through the internal American banking system.

[3] For a complete picture see Kindleberger, "The World Depression, 1929-39". This gives a good analysis of the monetary and exchange problems.

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it is not good enough and for a socialist propagandist, it is downright confusing and therefore dangerous.

Pat Devine's Thesis

To finish on a more positive note, I would like to make some comments about the political implications of Pat Devine's thesis.

This can be summarised, in *very* general terms, as being based on a significant shift in the strategic position of the British working class since the war (the argument is international but to avoid complications I will refer only to Britain). This shift originated in the conscious recognition by the ruling class that the mass unemployment of the pre-war period could no longer be sustained with any degree of social stability; the response to this recognition was the adoption of Keynesian economic management techniques to control employment levels and create the conditions for stable economic growth.

The removal of the threat of mass unemployment shifted the position of the working class to the extent that claims upon increased money wages became, within broad limits, irresistible.[4]

At a political level, increased working class consciousness and organisation made it necessary to steadily increase the levels of government expenditure on social welfare. The result has been, again in very general terms[5], the existence of three separate and, in their own ways, irresistible calls upon national resources—the working class via money wages, capitalist enterprises via price rises and the state via taxation and the national debt. The interaction between these forces has produced the inflationary pressure of the post-war period.

Economic Contradiction of Class Struggle

The immediate cause of the economic fact of inflation is the attempt by capitalist business to defend or increase profit margins by raising prices. However the underlying cause is no one factor but is the perpetual struggle between the factors mentioned above. In essence, inflation has emerged as the principal economic contradiction of class struggle, replacing the pre-war situation where cyclical and persistent unemployment was the main economic result of class struggle.

It should be noted in passing that the political feature of the monetarist theories of inflation is that they remove class struggle from their explanations of inflation. It is this feature which makes them so dangerous and confusing when presented as socialist propaganda.

There is, of course, a very real agitational problem about presenting this explanation of inflation, for the immediate reaction of most working people to the idea that class struggle causes inflation is to assume that this means that the working class causes inflation. Many Marxists also fall into this trap, which in their case is less excusable. It is also true that the left is by now so far into the mire of denying any connection between the struggle for higher wages and the inflationary process that any backtracking will be embarrassing. However, it has to be done.

The reason why it has to be done is that it lies at the heart of our political strategy. Our attitudes towards inflation are not a matter of peripheral economic theory but relate directly to our political policy; indeed, it is the key theoretical underpinning.

The Working Class Choice

The working class is faced at the moment with a choice between accepting a vague "squeeze the rich" and "social contract" incomes policy of the Labour Party and an alternative "revolutionary" policy of pursing increasingly unrealistic wage demands. Such a choice is hardly a problem as social democracy has such a dominance that by default the working class remains loyal, preferring at least the limited realism of a cynical Labour leadership to the utopian revolutionary left.

The alternative is this; that the working class, without relinquishing its hold over the wage bargaining process in real terms, should press more and more to extend its influence and ultimately its control over those areas of economic and social life at present closed to it, that is into the area of resource allocation and investment decision. This is the area of demands which will advance the cause of socialism, because it is here that the heartland of capitalism resides, and it is this which controls precisely those factors which affect the realisation of working class aspirations and needs.

Of course demands to control investment have already entered the scene, in particular in relation to the fights against closures. It is indeed this fact which points the way forward. The brilliant UCS struggle was of crucial importance in that by opening up this field of demands and by using the weapon most suited to those de-

[4] This is quite consistent with "classical" Marxism which recognised the crucial role played by "the reserve army of labour" in limiting the scope for money wage rises being won by industrial action, though without seriously considering what would happen if this reserve army were to be substantially removed.

[5] I must emphasise that this is only the baldest summary and misses out many important features which must be included to explain each specific feature.

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mands, it showed just how radically the mood of the working class had changed and how powerful a position it now held.

Rather petty denigrations of the UCS struggle, which complain that it was only a partial victory and that the work-in was, in part, only formal, miss the point. The potency of UCS was that it opened up areas of struggle hardly considered by the working class movement in previous years, and found an instantaneous and massive vein of support and enthusiasm. It won respectable if not total concessions, which by and large should be an objective of all campaigns for reforms, and it also showed the underlying revolutionary character of even partial and negative demands about investment. (Negative in the sense of being fought about negative investment or closure.) From negative influence on industrial decisions, it is necessary to move forward to positive control.

Workers' Control

The left has always tended to deny the importance of workers' control, particularly as the reformist attitudes latent within any set of demands have often become the most vocal, by advancing proposals, for example, for worker directors and so on, which could be quite clearly seen as containing and diversionary. Certainly it is true that no set of demands will ever be free from the problems set by the intrusions of social democratic leaders and ideology; this is as true of demands for workers' control as it is for wage demands. The left has come to believe that it can pre-empt social democrats in the field of wage demands by simply putting forward higher money wage targets. In the field of workers' control a much more complex differentiation is required, based upon a clear and realistic analysis of the economic and social processes of society. Lacking this the left can only fall back on empty slogans and avoid the issue.

The basis of a revolutionary demand is to choose those demands which are simultaneously within the scope of capitalism to grant and which will raise most clearly the issues of exploitation within capitalism and the necessity of socialism. The problem of the present left strategy, to agitate for ever higher wages and the smashing of incomes policies, is precisely that it fails to meet these requirements, and that the failure is determined not by any lack of militancy or consciousness in the working class but because the objective base of capitalism has changed to the extent that the strategy is not revolutionary but utopian.

Of course any strategy which includes some recognition that the continual pressure for higher money wages is, after a certain point, futile, can be accused of advocating an incomes policy. This is true and the problem cannot be avoided.

A Working Class Incomes Policy

The problem of an incomes policy does not lie with the danger of class collaboration, or at least, only insofar as such dangers were opened up when the first compromise agreement was made on a wages demand. The problems lie with the manner in which such a policy is organised and decided, and the demands which are made as part of the price for agreement. In particular, the manner in which linkages are made with other demands would be decisive.

The acceptance of a *working class* incomes policy linked with increasing working class control over the economy combines a realistic approach to raising living standards (as distinct from the present unrealistic approach of unrestrained collective bargaining) with the political advance of the working class which must now centre around the control of the national, regional and local economies. In doing so the working class will follow a strategy which will simultaneously raise its political understanding and will begin to make it the hegemonic class within society.

Advocating any kind of incomes policy will no doubt appear shocking to most on the left. However, the possibility for making revolutionary advance always consists of making the correct appraisal of reformist demands, and of providing them with a content which addresses itself both to the immediate interests of the working class and which also opens up some further long-term perspective. Present left policy fails to do this by opening a gap between a short-term economic militancy and long-term exhortation confined to propaganda and rhetoric.

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Man, Environment and the Great Growth Debate

R. E. Press

Law of Human Population

There is sufficient evidence to validate the statement of Marx "Every method of production that arises in the course of history has its own peculiar, historically valid law of population". For example the level of world population rose steeply after each change, primitive communism-slavery-serfdom-capitalism; indicating that a *change* in method of production gave rise to a *change* in population. The population law for each particular stage of history is also different. Again, as indicated by Marx, capitalism brings pressures to and produces an increase in population. "The quantity of available labour power furnished by the natural increase in population is by no means adequate to the needs of capitalist production, which, if it is to have free play, must have at its disposal an industrial reserve army independent of these natural limitations". "This is a law of population *peculiar* to the capitalist method of production".[1] Primitive hunting communities on the other hand seem to have stable populations. For about 12,000 years (25,000—10,000 B.C.) the world population increased very little and then only by reason of increase in the area of the globe which was populated. A modern example of a primitive agricultural community whose diet is supplemented by sporadic hunting is the Hopi group, consisting of some four thousand Indians, who, for more than fifteen centuries, have inhabited a few square miles of desert and semi-desert highland in Northern Arizona.[2] This present day community whose population is relatively stable has a law of population reflecting its method of production.

The term population should not be limited to numbers of people only but also for example their age distribution. Although evidence is limited, the shape of the age vs. percentage of population triangles, is different for different methods of production. These shapes are most easily indicated by the percentage under 15 years of age and some examples are given in the Table I. There is clearly a link between the method of production and the percentage of the population under 15 years of age. This also ties in with the percentage of industrial workers and the rate of population increase.

There are a large number of factors which interact and result over a number of years in a particular number of people, in a particular area of the globe.

[1] "Capital", K. Marx, Everyman's Library (1934), pp. 698, 701.

[2] Fact and information taken from "Population Resources Environment". R. R. & A. H. Ehrlich, Freeman (1970) page 7, 5, 1; "The Subversive Science", P. Shepard and O. McKinley, Houghton Mifflin (1969), pp. 44, 48, 386 (A series of essays); "Man's role in changing the face of the earth", W. L. T. Thomas, University of Chicago Press (1956), p. 107 (reports from a symposium).

TABLE I

Country	Year	Production	% under 15 yrs.	Rate of Population Increase/1000 year	% Industrial Workers
Nigeria	1970	Agriculture	43	26	1.5
UK	1881	early capitalism	40	—	—
India	1951	Agriculture	36	—	—
	1961	and early	38	—	—
	1970	capitalism	41	26	11.1
Germany	1910	Capitalism	22	—	—
W. Germany	1970	Capitalism	23	6	48.0
UK	1970	Capitalism	23	5	45.0
USSR	1970	Socialism	28	10	34.0
Hungary	1970	Socialism	23	4	43.0

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Thus the laws of population are compounded from a number of other laws.

The Law of Non-Human Populations

In elaborating the law of human populations the laws governing animal, bacterial populations, etc, cannot be overruled since humans are part of the animal kingdom. "We by no means rule over nature like a conqueror over foreign people, like someone standing outside nature—but that we, with flesh, blood and brain, belong to nature, and exist in its midst, and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage over all other creatures of being able to learn its laws and apply them correctly."[3] It is well known for example that bacteria on a petrie dish multiply until they have exhausted their food supply and then die. This food supply law applies to mankind as well but knowledge of this law and mankind's ability to undertake conscious action allows us to enlarge our food supply or to modify inedible material so as to make it available as food. There is a qualitative difference between man and animal as Marx said "It is only for plants and animals that there is a law of population in the abstract. . . ." (but these laws for plants and animals still apply) "and that only in so far as man does not interfere with them."

Periods of Dynamic Equilibrium

There may be times when a "Balance of Nature" is apparent and population numbers are relatively stationary even over long periods but it is the "nature of Balance" which is significant, i.e. what factors operate and why do they sometimes produce a fairly long term balance? In a long-term balanced system there is no overall change in population numbers but the system requires a constant supply of energy to keep it going.

In the situation of the Hopi Indians the energy is mainly in the form of a food supply which is controlled at a more or less static level. Among the reasons for this are (1) an isolated area with a constant (if erratic) supply of water, sunlight, fertiliser, wild animals etc. The Hopi have not increased the resources available to them. (ii) There has been no major change in the efficiency of producing or of using the available energy either in the form of food or fuel. (iii) The disposal of waste products was and is such as not to significantly affect (i) or (ii) above.

The birth rates have kept roughly pace with the death rates resulting in stable numbers. Some of the factors governing birth rates are as follows:— (i) Constant quantity of available housing (nesting areas limit bird populations); (ii) High infant mortality rate thereby limiting those reaching child bearing age; (iii) a static and codified cultural pattern; (iv) The impact of other cultures and peoples has been minimum and not overwhelming; (v) The subsistence energy supply; (vi) a tendency for birth rates to compensate high or low death rates; when other factors being equal death rates change; (vii) contraception and abortion.

The death rates have been apparently high and can be said to be controlled. (i) Predation by other species (which has in modern times been vastly reduced); (ii) Disease, plagues, parasites and similar factors have neither proved overwhelming nor have been vastly reduced; (iii) war, suicide, and similar man made agents of destruction, have not had a major impact because of the Hopi's remote inaccessible and "valueless" homeland.

On a global basis such relatively stable equilibrium positions are not uncommon. Over many centuries population numbers (taking into account increased areas of the globe which have been made inhabitable) remained static. True there were sudden disasters, plagues, floods, famine or wars but after a relatively short time the overall numbers were restored.

For example the known population numbers for China (one of the few areas where figures are known or can be deduced) were relatively stable over many centuries before the establishment of agriculture and the first emperors. Thereafter they rose rapidly only to again (with fluctuations linked to natural or political events) become stable over a hundred years at a higher level. Since 1600 they have risen steadily and explosively into the era of capitalism.

In other areas such as Africa data is scanty, but it is clear that there was a population "explosion" hundreds of thousands of years ago, that the coming of agriculture caused a further growth and stabilisation and that colonialism and slavery created a law of population in Africa which drastically reduced numbers. Only now are they recovering.

In the modern era many of the factors which govern population numbers are subject to man's control and understanding.

Food is no longer hunted or gathered at random; wild animals only constitute a minor hazard in remote areas of the populated world; shelter, heat and energy can be produced almost at will; disease, plagues etc. although a danger are largely controlled; we know how children are conceived and how to increase or decrease the possibility of conception; war can be banished; socialism and communism offer the organising and mobilising force to tie the whole process together under man's control.

Ehrlich, Commoner and even Comrade Clarke appear to defend, fear, or try to explain away the problem of population resources and growth. What is lacking is a clear statement of the law of population which will be operative in the coming era of socialism and communism. There is no sound basis for

[3] "Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man", Engels, Progress Publishers (1972) p. 13.

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assuming that growth in terms of material wealth, food supply or population numbers is essential to anyone but capitalism's survival; nor is it correct to assume that growth is necessary for all areas of the globe; nor that it is necessary at all times or to all methods of production.

The Soviet Union needs economic growth at the present time, the GDR needs more people, Africa needs more people and more economic growth. Japan could do with a little less economic growth, certainly of the capitalist variety. Does the United States need more economic growth when it cannot use the productive capacity it has at present. Can the world allow it to consume more resources? Can the world accept any more US "aid"?

Until the socialist revolution in the United States, growth can only mean more reaction, repression and greater crisis. Under a socialist system the United States productive capacity is quite sufficient to support a communist society not only at home but with vast fraternal aid to millions of other people.

Having attained the level of production necessary to establish communism then one can forsee a law of population which is not one of increase but of stability.

What Could be the Basis of such a Law?

It is already possible to see the seeds of this system within the present historical period particularly in the socialist countries. The basis would be:

a) a well educated highly politically conscious population.
b) a fully integrated productive system well planned and organised.
c) full democracy with participation of the population at all levels.
d) a high level of technology and science.
e) an advanced agricultural system supplied with all the necessary aids and resources.
f) a fully developed closed cycle low pollution industry and agriculture.
g) a high cultural level.
h) sporting and recreational facilities.
i) advanced communication and exchanges of ideas.

It is clear that even the socialist countries have some way to go and that the short list of headings given above barely indicate the vast steps already taken and yet necessary to be taken. The reader is, as a start, referred to the various conference reports and decisions of the CPSU and other parties; to for example "Soviet Planning" Progress Publishers (1972) and similar articles in *World Marxist Review*. 1973, Vol. 16, No. 1, No. 8.

Under such a method of production the law of population will be quite different to any operating at present or in the past.

Under all previous historical systems population numbers have been controlled by forces external to mankind's will, but under communism they will adjust themselves to the available resources by the conscious action of the masses themselves. With contraception and abortion available on demand, with the productive capacity of agriculture and industry controlled and known, then ordinary folk will decide for themselves. The working class already exercises some control over population numbers. By plotting rate of population growth against numbers of industrial workers in the various countries of the world, socialist, capitalist, feudal, developed and underdeveloped, it can be shown that the larger the percentage of industrial workers the lower the rate of population growth. (Similar plots for gross national product, number of schools, number of doctors etc. do not so directly affect the rate of population growth). It will not be our sort of world. "State decrees", the opinion of the "Expert", the "word of God", "illegitimate children", I can do what I like with "my kids", such things and sayings will have lost their currency and will be meaningless. This idea is not new, for it is well known that the masses are the makers of history and, when that role is fully restored to them in a classless society, there is no reason why they cannot make a society which works without the spectre of "too many people, too few resources."

There will be contradictions, crises, problems, for without these there could be no progress.

But up to now progress has been measured by far too narrow a gauge. Even the party has tended to press for growth and to shy away from talk of a limit to population numbers. However, if communism came to Britain, tomorrow, would we need more productive capacity? If the food at present available to these islands was properly distributed and efficiently consumed, would we need more?

In the future will not the gauge of success be changed? After a full stomach has been achieved the development of dance, music, sport, health and culture will assume more importance. Not more people but better people will become the gauge of progress. Mankind will substitute the desire of quantity of people with quality of life.

It will be another gigantic step forward for mankind.

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